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MAY 1988

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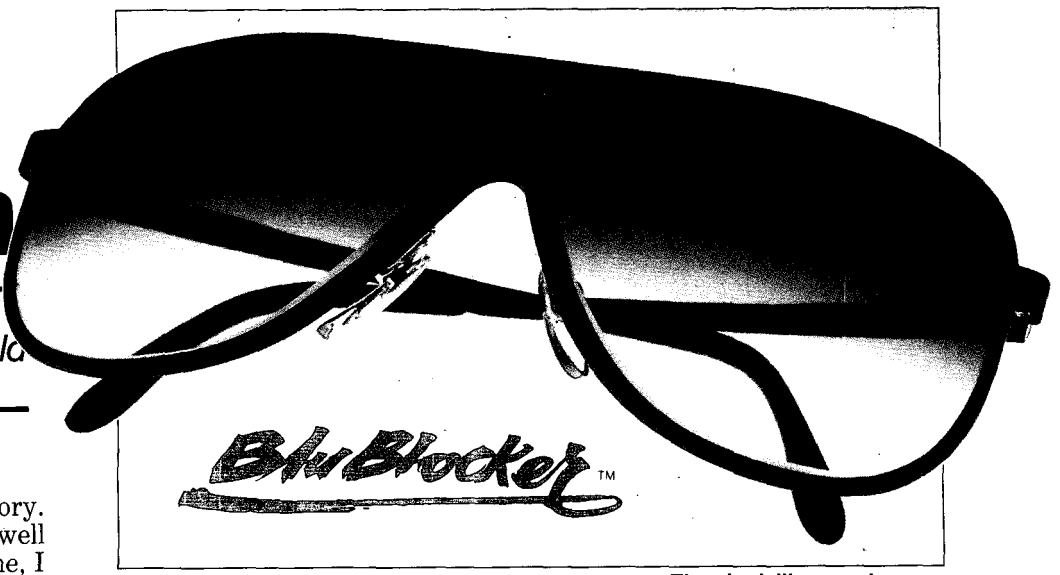
Vision Breakthrough

When I put on the pair of glasses what I saw I could not believe. Nor will you.



They look like sunglasses.

By Joseph Sugarman

I am about to tell you a true story. If you believe me, you will be well rewarded. If you don't believe me, I will make it worth your while to change your mind. Let me explain.

Len is a friend of mine who knows good products. One day he called excited about a pair of sunglasses he owned. "It's so incredible," he said, "when you first look through a pair, you won't believe it."

"What will I see?" I asked. "What could be so incredible?"

Len continued, "When you put on these glasses, your vision improves. Objects appear sharper, more defined. Everything takes on an enhanced 3-D effect. And it's not my imagination. I just want you to see for yourself."

COULDN'T BELIEVE EYES

When I received the sunglasses and put them on I couldn't believe my eyes. I kept taking them off and putting them on to see if indeed what I was seeing was indeed actually sharper or if my imagination was playing tricks on me. But my vision improved. It was obvious. I kept putting on my $100 pair of sunglasses and comparing them. They didn't compare. I was very impressed. Everything appeared sharper, more defined and indeed had a greater three dimensional look to it. But what did this product do that made my vision so much better? I found out.

The sunglasses (called BluBlockers) filter out the ultraviolet and blue spectrum light waves from the sun. Blue rays have one of the shortest wavelengths in the visible spectrum (red is the longest). As a result, the color blue will focus slightly in front of the retina which is the "focusing screen" in your eye. By blocking the blue from the sunlight through a special filtration process, and only letting those rays through that indeed focus clearly on the retina, objects appear to be sharper and clearer.

The second reason is even more impressive. It is harmful to have ultra-violet rays fall on our eyes. Recognized as bad for skin, UV light is worse for eyes and is believed to play a role in many of today's eye diseases.

SUNGLASS DANGER

But what really surprised me was the danger in conventional sunglasses. Our pupils close in bright light to limit the light entering the eye and open wider at night like the lens of an automatic camera. So when we put on sunglasses, although we reduce the amount of light that enters our eyes, our pupils open wider and we allow more of the harmful blue and ultraviolet light into our eyes.

DON'T BE CONFUSED

I'm often asked by people who read this, "Do those Blu-Blockers really work?" They really do and please give me the opportunity to prove it. I guarantee each pair of BluBlockers to perform exactly as I described.

BluBlocker sunglasses use Malenium-99™ lenses with a hard anti-scratch coating. No shortcuts were taken.

The black, light-weight frame is one of the most comfortable I have ever worn and will comfortably contour to any size face. It compares with many of the $200 pairs you can buy from France or Italy.

There is a clip-on pair that weighs less than one ounce and fits over prescription lenses. All models include a padded carrying case and a one-year limited warranty.

I urge you to order a pair and experience your improved vision. Then take your old sunglasses and compare them to the BluBlocker sunglasses. See how much clearer and sharper objects appear with the BluBlocker pair. And see if your night vision doesn't improve as a direct result. If you don't see a dramatic difference in your vision—one so noticeable that you can tell immediately, then send them back anytime within 30 days and I will send you a prompt and courteous refund.

DRAMATIC DIFFERENCE

But from what I've personally witnessed, once you wear a pair, there will be no way you'll want to return it.

Our eyes are very important to us. Protect them and at the same time improve your vision with the most incredible breakthrough in sunglasses since they were first introduced. Order a pair or two at no obligation, today.

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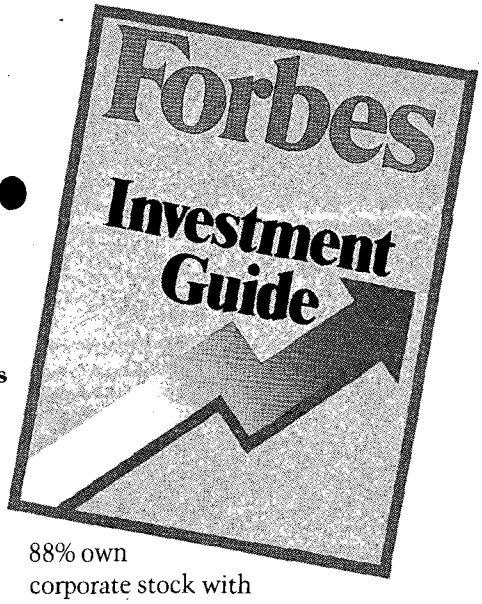
A hot new issue that even bears will be bullish on.



Forget the ticker. Come June 27th, America's investors will have their eyes glued to Forbes—the Forbes Investment Guide, that is. This is one new issue that'll be snapped up by investors of every description, packed as it is with priceless insights that only Forbes, with its 71 years experience in covering the markets, could deliver.

Designed for astute investors and those who want to be, the Investment Guide will reflect the savvy and insights of Forbes. It will be a yearlong guide, not just for surviving, but for making money in today's tricky markets. Here's just a sampling:

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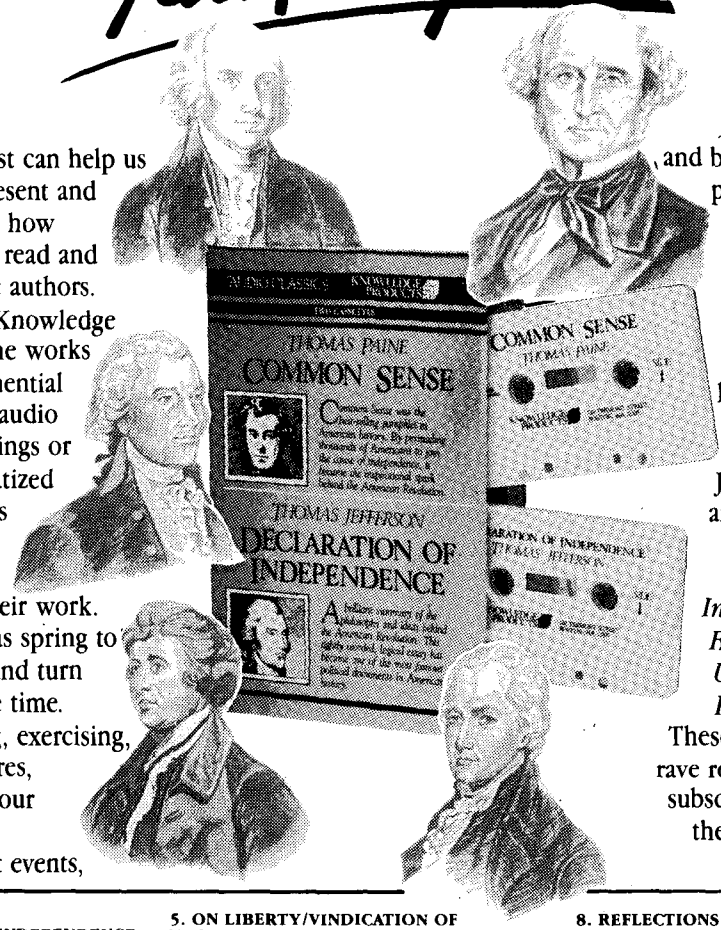

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May 1988/Vol. 20, No. 1

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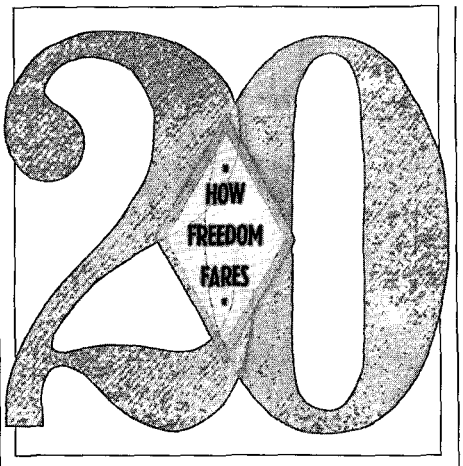

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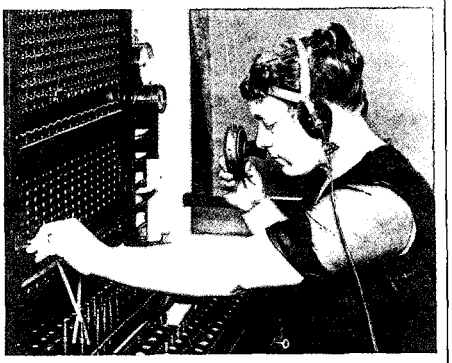

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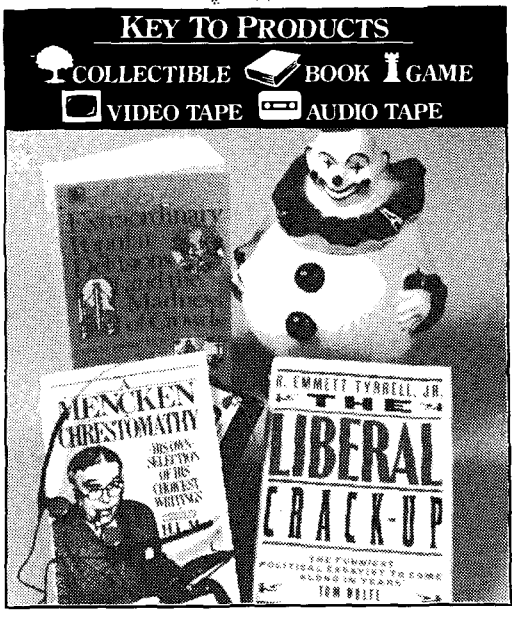

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Corporate Capitalism?

I read with interest ex-neoconservative Paul Weaver's account ("Mugged by Reality," March) of his gradual disenchantment with corporate capitalism and his conversion to libertarianism. (I am reminded of Karl Hess's *Dear America*). Weaver's article, however, raises some unresolved questions.

Doesn't the system of market capitalism and pluralist politics supported by libertarians tend to degenerate into the very system of corporate capitalism they criticize? If selfishness is a virtue, and if there is no general interest beyond that which results from individuals freely pursuing their self-interests, is it not in the interest of corporations such as those described by Weaver, once they have won market dominance, to use their political liberties to seek regulatory and other action from the government to restrict competition or in other ways protect their own position?

If not—if, in the long run, all corporations are better off maintaining free markets and competition—doesn't that mean there is a general interest in free markets that requires the sacrifice or subordination of the self-interests of those who gain dominance? Isn't that the same argument as the neoconservatives' and liberal social engineers'—that individuals should forgo immediate interests in the name of a public interest? And doesn't that contradict some of the premises of libertarian theory?

Raymond B. Wrabley
Johnstown, PA

I WAS INTRIGUED by Paul Weaver's article as he painfully learned basic facts of corporate life. I was disappointed, however, that he failed to learn the basic fact about the relationship of corporations and capitalism: corporations by their nature are incapable of advancing the cause of the economic system under which they have been most successful, and their existence is neither necessary to capitalism nor particularly desirable under any circumstances.

If Mr. Weaver had looked deeper into the history of corporations he would have realized that they have always been a unique creature of—the state! They were created by the state (king) to serve the state (king). Remember the Hudson Bay Company, the Massachusetts Bay Company, and their historical relatives? No free-market freaks here. Just old-time protectionism. Has 300 years changed the nature of corporations?

Let us hope that our legislators will have the wisdom to repeal the laws creating corporations. People may then freely choose to conduct their business affairs in a corporate form, but I expect creative minds in that era to do better than establish a libertarian corporate state.

I would like to suggest to Mr. Weaver that corporations and capitalism may even be antithetical. This would much better explain their failure to support and defend capitalism.

David M. Grappo
Oakland, CA

Ditch the Drug Laws

As Mark Buechler says ("Why Not Ban Falling in Love?" March), lives are being ruined by drug laws, not drugs. Beyond REASON's enlightened readership, unfortunately, the general public is too much in the grip of hysteria to grasp most of the arguments that can be raised against that hysteria. The world, or a large segment of it, is deaf to reason.

My favorite argument is that antidrug laws are an economic incentive to drug trafficking. Once that is asserted, it attracts attention. Once demonstrated, it cannot be refuted. But even this is not certain to stop the hysteria, because people have made up their minds and do not want to be confused by the facts.

I am haunted by the observation of H. R. Trevor-Roper that for several hun-

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dred years, critics of witchhunting never denied the existence of witches. It is like asserting the right of people to take drugs. Hardly anyone can "hear" the argument. Critics point out that drug testing violates the civil rights of those who are not using drugs, but they do not deny that people caught buying or selling illicit drugs should be punished.

There are at least three arguments against drugs: They are medically harmful, cause moral (psychological) indolence, and are bound up with criminals. The hysterics weave these arguments together without awareness that each argument does not prove the others. They cannot see that their data are biased and their criminalization of drugs attracts criminals. At base, of course, they believe it their moral duty to make others moral and well against their wills.

Miles Fowler
El Cerrito, CA

MARK BUECHLER FAILS to note that the main reason for the War on Drugs is its usefulness in distracting Americans' attention from the criminality of their own government's employees. Karl Marx said, "The best way for government to control the people is to remain in a constant threat of war." Our government has only pluralized *war*.

Bill Fargo
Denver, CO

Chemical Coercion

In our modern therapeutic state there exist, with a few exceptions, two kinds of drugs: prohibited and compulsory. Roy Childs ("Battling the Drug War," March) is right on target in demolishing the justifications for drug prohibition. At least he is not likely to be sued for speaking the truth.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Dr. Peter R. Breggin, who has courageously exposed the flip side of the drug issue—specifically, the coerced use of brain-damaging drugs to control psychiatric inmates. The National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (NAMI) attempted to get Dr. Breggin's medical license revoked after he advised prospective psychiatric patients on "The Oprah Winfrey Show" last year to avoid therapists who prescribe the

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How Executives Overcome The #1 Fear: Public Speaking

You probably aspire to a higher position in your organization, as do most executives.

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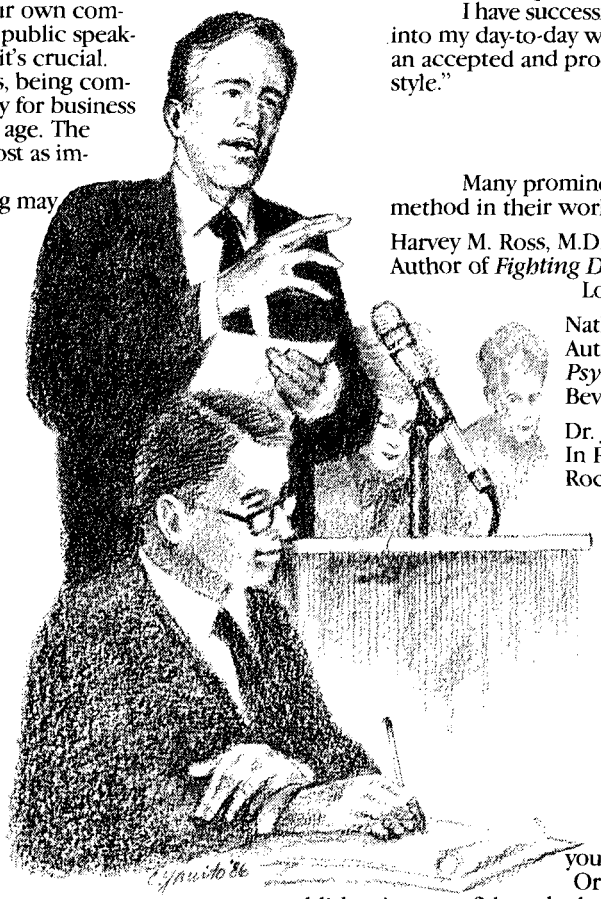
In fact, according to many experts, being competent in oral communication is necessary for business survival in this revolutionary information age. The way you present an idea has become almost as important as the idea itself.

But, the thought of public speaking may make you very anxious. If you dread the thought of public speaking you are not alone. It may surprise you but, the most common fear that many business people and executives share is speaking before a group.



For help, you may have already turned to organizations such as Toastmasters. This group and others like it can be helpful in polishing skills and developing techniques. But they are obviously not helpful if the thought of speaking is so paralyzing it's not possible to even start.

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The book will show you how to step by step overcome the fear of public speaking. It is a natural treatment. You can do it for yourself or for someone else. There is no need for drugs of any kind. Once the speaking fear is eliminated you'll then be able to develop and polish your skills to whatever level you wish.

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major psychiatric drugs and to seek out loving and caring people instead. Fortunately, the Maryland Commission on Medical Discipline threw out NAMI's complaint, ruling the entire matter a First Amendment issue. But this incident reveals how far those who lie about drugs are willing to go in silencing their critics.

On odd-numbered days, we are bombarded with lies about prohibited drugs; this is called the War Against Drugs. On even-numbered days, we are bombarded with similar lies about far more dangerous drugs forced on unwilling or misinformed people; this is called biological psychiatry. The only remedy to this mendacity about drugs is to speak the truth and assert the principle that given free, fully informed, and uncoerced choice, individuals have the absolute right to use or refuse any drug, regardless of alleged harm or benefit, and should be responsible for their choices.

Stephen Mendelsohn
New Britain, CT

Hope for China: A First-Person Story

I read with great glee "Dissident China," by Susan Ruel (Feb.). I've had a strong faith recently in the possibility of China becoming the first great socialist/communist country to change its stripes and convert to democracy. Ruel's account of Dr. Wang Bingzhang is eye-opening. But listen to my tale!

I am a retired real estate broker in Philadelphia with a too-big house; my four kids have flown the coop. So I am renting out rooms to students at nearby Drexel University and the University of Pennsylvania. This year I have a Chinese student.

He comes from Chunming in southern China, an agricultural region 6,000 feet above sea level and only about 100 miles north of Burma. He is 49 years of age, left his wife at home to study engineering here, and eventually plans to return.

He speaks very good English and is extremely well-mannered, cultivated, and considerate. He is curious about our democracy; he wanted to see all the original colonial buildings, the treasured halls where our liberty was put together, and especially the Liberty Bell. Asking him why he found all this so intriguing, I got an astonishing reply.

His father was raised in the old China and did not forget how things used to be. He laid low during Mao's revolution. But as his son was about to embark on a trip to the United States, he took him aside and said, in effect, "The place where you are going, the United States, has the three most important written documents of history. Remember them! They are the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Emancipation Proclamation."

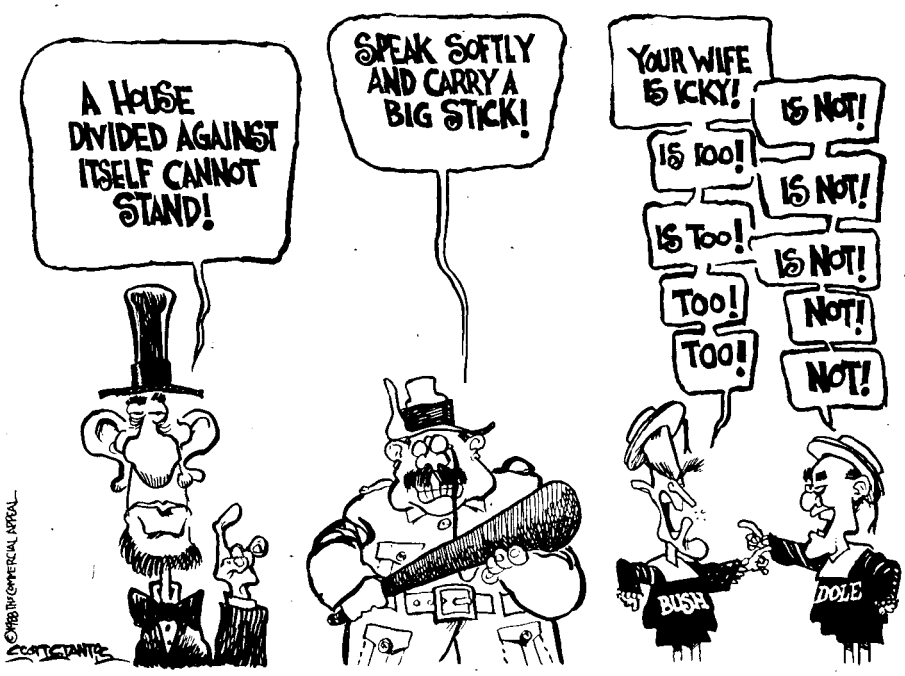
I was entranced! How could this be? From communist China? And recalled now, from before the days of Mao? What was Mao's real influence, anyhow, if these thoughts slipped through 30 years of his terror? This, I said, tells me there is good news from China tonight. The country has a future measuring up to ours. Five thousand years of Chinese culture cannot be overthrown. China will recover.

Gerard H. Bye
Philadelphia, PA

Another Party Heard From

For some time I have enjoyed reading REASON and have found it extremely informative. But something is disturbing me. Your slogan is "free minds and free markets." Yet, with a presidential election coming up, the party and the candidate who most nearly represent your views have not been mentioned in recent issues, as nearly as I can tell—and I've read them "from kiver to kiver." I feel that Ron Paul and the Libertarian Party deserve a better shake.

Bill Williford
Houston, TX



Sweet Surrender

I surrender. Enclosed is a subscription fee for REASON. I am not a libertarian and do not intend to become one but cannot resist reading the magazine, including the pieces on, of all occult matters, *economics*!

Arnold S. Trebach
The Drug Policy Foundation
Washington, DC

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Strange advice from the authors:

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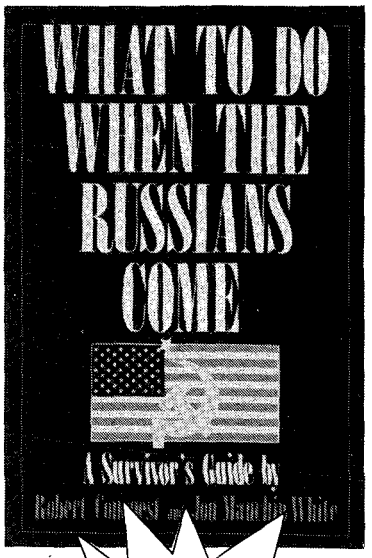
But that's only the beginning, if the peaceniks have their way and Russia ever does take over. The alternative might be to spend the rest of your days up near the Arctic Circle.

Say, what's going on here? Has the Conservative Book Club suddenly started offering kooky books?

Not on your life — and we use those words advisedly. This one is by Robert Conquest, who probably knows as much about the Soviets as any Westerner alive today. Conquest, now a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, wrote the classic study of Stalin's reign of murder, *The Great Terror*. Co-author Jon Manchip White is the Lindsay Young Professor of English at the University of Tennessee. So you'll be reading a serious book about a grim possibility. This isn't a *1984*-style fantasy. *This book is based entirely upon what hundreds of millions have suffered when the Communists took over — but with ingenious variations added especially for America.*



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WHAT THE SPACE FRONTIER NEEDS NOW

ROBERT W. POOLE, JR.

Once again, NASA is taking space enthusiasts for a ride. For 15 years we were told that the shuttle was the only way to get into space. It was high-tech, multipurpose, and the way to open up the high frontier. That hype was blasted to smithereens two years ago.

Now NASA is telling the same tale about its proposed space station. And space buffs are falling all over themselves flacking for NASA, urging Congress to spend $32 billion on the necessary infrastructure for living and working in space.

Only thing is: it's a con. We don't need a $32-billion orbiting Disneyland to live and work in space. NASA's station is, in truth, a gigabuck public works project.

Several years ago, NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center gave the game away. Its report, "Technology Required for Space Station," claimed that the following would be needed to build such a facility: advances in propulsion, materials, sensors, solar arrays, mass memories, momentum management systems, energy storage, computer architectures, high-voltage systems, millimeter-wave communications, and trash management.

Nonsense. We already have the technology to build a space station. We already *did it* in the 1970s with Skylab, a station larger than the Soviet *Mir* now orbiting the earth. The shuttle itself serves as a mini-space station, especially when equipped with laboratory modules.

Almost nothing needs to be designed from scratch to have a functioning space station. As space analyst Eric Drexler pointed out in 1984, from a design standpoint a space station resembles a *building* more than it does an aircraft. It does not need to be designed to minimize weight—the major cost-increasing factor in most aerospace projects. (That's because it only has to be lifted into orbit once, unlike an aircraft or the shuttle.) Much of it could be designed and built with industrial hardware and techniques.

Given these insights, it's hardly surprising that several proposed *private* space platforms have projected costs orders of magnitude less than NASA's baby. First off the mark is the Industrial Space Facility, the brainchild of former NASA designer Max Faget. The ISF is less ambitious than NASA's station. It provides, to be sure, about one-tenth the pressurized volume and would be man-tended rather than permanently manned. But its cost is *one-hundredth* that of NASA's station—just $300 million, providing 10 times the volume per dollar.

Far more ambitious is Labitat, the proposed station from External Tanks Corp. ETCO is proposing to employ the space shuttle's huge external tank (ET), a $30-million asset normally jettisoned and burned up as it reenters the atmosphere. Engineers have long suggested that the ET be lofted into orbit along with the shuttle, so it could be pressurized and used for living and working in space.

ETCO has designed Labitat to consist of two ETs mounted side-by-side, with an auxiliary utility unit and solar panels mounted at the ends. With 140,000 cubic feet, it would have *five times* the volume of NASA's space station, and it could be expanded indefinitely. ETCO estimates the cost of a minimally outfitted Labitat to be just $100 million. Even if that's low by a factor of 10, it's a tiny fraction of what NASA needs to build a space station.

ETCO is still in the early venture-capital stages, while Faget's company, Space Industries Inc., is much further along, having attracted support from Boeing and Westinghouse. Still, both have had credibility problems, and NASA's coolness toward low-cost competitors hasn't helped.

In this context, President Reagan's new commercial space directive has to be seen as a plus. NASA has been ordered to become the lead tenant on a man-tended facility such as the ISF, leasing $140 million of space a year for five years. This will give NASA-funded scientists access to orbital working space years sooner than NASA's station—and also gives Space Industries the revenue needed to pay back its investors.

In addition, NASA has been ordered to loft future external tanks into orbit and make them available at no charge to "all feasible U.S. commercial and nonprofit endeavors" for research, storage, manufacturing, and other uses. This gives private firms the key resource they will need.

Yes, these measures amount to modest government subsidies. But their tab is a far sight lower than $32 billion. Predictably, NASA fought tooth and nail against these new policies. Because even though Reagan is trying to have it both ways—endorsing both NASA's station and the private ones—the space agency can see the implications.

It won't take members of Congress very long to figure out that if the private sector can provide both man-tended and manned, pressurized living and working space in orbit, why should the hard-pressed taxpayers be asked to pony up $32 billion to do the same thing?

Space buffs should welcome both the breaking of NASA's space station monopoly and the probable demise of its station project. Living and working in space will never become routine as long as it depends on one-of-a-kind, exotic, budget-busting projects. What the space frontier needs is low-cost, cost-effective, industrially produced hardware. That's the opposite of NASA's way—and it's what the private sector now has to offer.

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THALIDOMIDE STILL KILLS

VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

A prescient friend of mine (she also foresaw Mike Dukakis's presidential bid) once predicted that we'd soon see an explosion of treatments for Alzheimer's disease. Baby boomers, she reasoned, would demand help for their aging parents, and the market would supply.

My friend was right about Dukakis and about Alzheimer's. But she forgot about the Food and Drug Administration.

The FDA is in business to stop the flow of drugs to American medicine cabinets. It is a monument to the idea that people don't know what's good for them, that medical decisions are too important to be left up to doctors and patients. It is the most paternalistic organ of our paternalistic government.

And it is killing people. Its victims are mostly anonymous, stories of "it might have been." When the FDA held up beta blockers, to take a single example, it condemned thousands of heart patients to death. But which ones?

Such hypotheticals don't make for great TV. Nobody holds rallies for statistically predicted casualties. Nobody sues for damages caused by *not* taking a drug.

But two forces are putting faces on the FDA's victims. One is what my friend predicted—the pressure to find some way to alleviate Alzheimer's. The other, of course, is AIDS.

Alzheimer's and AIDS are both fatal, promising death by slow torture of mind and body. Yet the FDA, in its infinite wisdom (and in accordance with laws passed by Congress), forbids patients medication that might relieve their suffering. By increasing costs and delaying revenue, its policies also stifle innovation.

The FDA is protected from criticism by a magic word—thalidomide. In the early '60s, that tranquilizer caused fatal or crippling birth defects in thousands of European infants. An alert FDA physician realized the problem and the agency prohibited sales of the drug.

The thalidomide tragedy created a powerful myth—and a dangerous law. Thalidomide was *unsafe*, banned under a 1938 law. But Congress responded to the crisis by outlawing distribution of drugs that haven't been proven both safe and *effective*. Efficacy testing does nothing to prevent another thalidomide tragedy, but it does add years to the approval process.

If thalidomide marked the FDA's greatest triumph, AIDS marks its most disgraceful failure. AIDS has made it unconscionable to defend mandatory efficacy testing, but the FDA is bound and determined to try. "It's a disservice to let even a dying patient use an unproven drug unless qualified physicians believe it has some chance of helping," says FDA medical officer Alexander Fleming in a self-justifying special report from *FDA Consumer* magazine. "That only raises false expectations and might cause needless suffering or hasten death."

Not just any "qualified physicians," however, can decide that a drug "has some chance of helping." The FDA determines who is qualified and what constitutes an acceptable belief.

Last year, the agency loosened its restrictions on some experimental drugs. For terminal illnesses, such as AIDS, a pharmaceutical company has to show only a "reasonable basis for concluding" that a new drug "may be effective" and won't contribute "significant additional risks."

All that is well and good and much-heralded. But we haven't exactly been inundated with new drugs—and not because companies haven't invented any. Many AIDS drugs (notably ribavirin) languish unapproved, sold only on the black market. And true to its nature, the FDA still smashes new approaches whenever it gets the chance.

Take the case of William Summers, a physician who treated 17 Alzheimer's patients with the drug THA and the food supplement lecithin. According to an article he published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, most showed improvement. The number of patients is small—too small to constitute proof of the drug's general effectiveness. There is plenty of room for further research, and a number of specialists are trying to duplicate Summers's results.

None of this, however, satisfies the FDA, which has threatened Summers with legal action for breaking the agency's experimental-drug rules—rules that dictate a host of record-keeping requirements, laboratory inspections, and study procedures. These rules assume the resources of a large company, not an individual physician. Summers has been forced to stop giving THA to his patients.

No one knows whether THA is in fact an effective treatment for Alzheimer's. But Summers's patients and their families want the chance to try it. Not content to remain anonymous victims of the FDA's cruel and paternalistic policies, they have started a foundation to support Summers.

"My father returned to some of his favorite hobbies, such as woodworking, reading, and gardening as a result of THA," Brent Couvillion told the *Wall Street Journal*. "We know that THA is not a cure, but shouldn't we have a say in the THA controversy?"

The FDA refuses to let doctors and patients make tradeoffs, to choose how much risk to accept or whether to try a treatment that might not work. Instead, it decides for them—in ways most people would not decide for themselves. It kills choice and it kills hope and it kills people.

By the Way...

■ You have won! Three years ago, we announced a contest: What reader could come closest in guessing the size of Ronald Reagan's final budget? We naturally expected that figure to be much larger than the $1.26 trillion projected by Reagan back then. But we were wrong, as were all of you who entered our Waste, Fraud, and Abuse contest. In January, Reagan asked Congress for $1.09 trillion for fiscal year 1989.

Our most optimistic contestant—and the winner—is Darryl Creighton, who guessed $1.35 trillion. He wins two free passes to REASON's anniversary banquet this fall. And W. D. Smith wins the sheet music to "Hey, Big Spender" for taking second, with $1.3716 trillion. (Mr. Smith, wouldn't you rather have a REASON T-shirt?)

Here are 51 reasons to subscribe to

Liberty

Murray Rothbard	Karl Hess	Nathaniel Branden
Mark Skousen	Butler Shaffer	Douglas Casey
Erika Holzer	John Dentinger	Sheldon Richman
Henry Mark Holzer	Harry Browne	David M. Brown
Durk Pearson	Benjamin Best	Adrian Day
Sandy Shaw	William P. Moulton	Mike Holmes
Ron Paul	David Galland	David Sheldon
Stephen Cox	Skye d'Aureous	John C. Green
Chester Alan Arthur	Natalee Hall	James L. Guth
Ethan O. Waters	Nathan Wollstein	Terry Inman
Rex F. May	William Cate	Ross Overbeek
Brian Wright	Timothy Henderson	Judith Peterson
R. W. Bradford	Jeffrey Rogers Hummel	Raul Santana
Tom Marshall	Franklin Sanders	Michael Townshend
Jo McIntyre	Ida Walters	Timothy Virkkala
David Ramsay Steele	Walter Block	Tibor Machan

A magazine is only as good as its writers.

In its first five issues, **Liberty**, the new libertarian magazine, has published more than 240,000 words written by the 51 writers whose names are listed above.

Liberty celebrates the diversity of libertarian thought by publishing the finest libertarian writing on subjects of special interest to libertarians:

✓ *What libertarians think:* Current events, culture and politics, analyzed from a libertarian perspective.

✓ *Who libertarians are and where we come from:* **Liberty** reconsiders the ideas and the lives of libertarians past and present by publishing memoirs and historical vignettes of the people who have made libertarianism what it is today.

✓ *What libertarianism is:* **Liberty** tackles the tough issues, the problems of living in a coercive society, of playing hard-ball in the world of *realpolitik*, of coming to terms with the controversial disputes of libertarian philosophy.

✓ *What libertarianism isn't:* **Liberty** is not afraid to distinguish our thinking from conservatism's traditionalism or from modern liberalism's contempt for the spontaneity of the free market.

✓ *What we are up against:* **Liberty's** writers not only take on the *ideologies* of our opponents, but also the *practices* by which the "illiberals" rule the world.

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We are confident that **Liberty** is worth its price of $18 per year—so confident that we have made your subscription to **Liberty** risk-free. You are protected by our double guarantee detailed in the box below. And—just for trying **Liberty**—we will send you Murray Rothbard's controversial essay, *The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult*.

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Liberty offers you the best in libertarian thinking and libertarian writing. So don't hesitate. With our double guarantee, you have nothing to lose—and the fruits of **Liberty** to gain.

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1. We guarantee a full refund with no questions upon your request after you have received your first issue.

2. At any time during your subscription, we will guarantee a full pro-rated refund for any unmailed issues.

In any event, *The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult* is yours to keep with our compliments.

R. W. Bradford
Publisher

Yes! Please enter my subscription to **Liberty**. Also send me a copy of Murray N. Rothbard's monograph *The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult*, which is mine to keep even if I obtain a full refund under your guarantee.

- ☐ One Full Year (6 issues) $18.00
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LET'S **CELEBRATE!**

by MARTY ZUPAN

Imagine if REASON *could throw a 20th anniversary party, with all of you readers invited...*

Ladies and Gentlemen, it's an honor and a pleasure to be here with you today and to be the one to kick off this celebration.

My life has been so tied up with REASON's for the last 10 years that it can seem self-serving to dwell on what a feat it is for this magazine still to be alive and kicking at 20. But truly, it is quite a feat. I read once that magazines and restaurants compete for the dubious distinction of having the highest failure rate among businesses. (Wouldn't you know it, these are the two enterprises that stand the greatest chance of claiming my affection!)

And that's just regular old magazines. A magazine of ideas is evidently a particularly difficult venture—not one think magazine in this country operates at a profit. And when you consider that we're talking about a magazine of radical individualist rationalist ideas—not exactly the *Zeitgeist* in our time...well, you can understand the urge to shout from the rooftops, "Look at us! We're 20 and going strong!"

As we know from the letters you occasionally write, some of you have been with REASON from the first years. You can remember first-hand its beginnings as a six-page mimeographed campus publication at MIT, Harvard, and Boston University. It sold for 10 cents and offered an Ayn Rand–inspired, reasoned alternative to the often-violent, often-collectivist student opposition of 1968.

From where we're standing now, REASON's life divides rather neatly into the first decade and the second. In the first 10 years, REASON evolved into the leading forum for discussion of libertarian ideas, mostly by libertarians and for libertarians. Debate raged fast and furious about the implications of taking individual liberty seriously as a principle. As individualist ideas gained a hearing in academic circles that had for years been dominated by New Deal liberal and even socialist premises—Robert Nozick's landmark *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* was published in 1974—REASON bridged the academic and popular worlds.

It was heady and fun, but the debates are ones that must in a sense be argued anew by each generation. By the late '70s the people at REASON were ready for a new challenge.

By this time, your numbers had grown to 17,000 (from 400 subscribers at the end of 1970, when a partnership took over publication from the magazine's founder). And yet the magazine was still brought out mostly as a labor of love! It wasn't until 1977 that an editorial staff—Bob Poole, at half-time—was actually paid.

In 1978, as REASON began its 10th year, plans were being laid to give the magazine a firmer financial footing and expand its horizons. A nonprofit foundation was set up to publish the magazine. Still committed to reason as the means of exploring and analyzing the world around us, and to liberty as a necessary condition of individuals' pursuit of happiness, the magazine would reach out to a broader audience, taking up the issues of the day from a libertarian editorial perspective.

And so we arrive at 1988, with a product that is remarkably different from its 1968 and 1978 incarnations while firmly attached to its roots. You subscribers now number 35,000 plus, and you are joined by an increasing number of newsstand browsers. What a party! And what a lineup we have for the occasion.

Our idea was to bring you together on this occasion with a wide array of people from "the REASON community"—writers who've contributed over the years, figures we've interviewed, contributing editors, staff members past and present. I won't delay the proceedings at this point with a list of what we have in store for you—you can consult the printed program on page 5. There's a whole lot there, from Vintage Brickbats to closing words from P. J. O'Rourke.

But before I relinquish this platform, I'd like to publicly offer a word of thanks to staff and near-staff who during my 10 years at REASON have poured their energies into the mini-book that is slipped into your mailbox each month—Don, Gloria, Christine, Anna, Nanette, Cathy, Matt, Eric, Jan, Lynn, Paul, Eric (again), David, Laura, Bill, Lucy, Nanette (the other one), Virginia, James. And, of course, Bob. Thanks a whole lot. It's been a helluva lot of hard work—but also a gas.

Thanks also to you readers, who buy it, read it, tell us what you think, and often support us morally and financially.

And now, let's celebrate!

Congratulations on Your
Twentieth Anniversary and
Your Pioneering Efforts
in Privatization

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VINTAGEBRICKBATS

Endangered feces: For the last nine months the National Park Service has been trying "to put out a fire in a 25,000 year accumulation of giant Shasta sloth dung in a remote Grand Canyon cave." The deposit, five feet thick, is one of "only ten known caves of sloth dung in the world," according to the *Washington Post*, and is considered a "treasure trove" for scientists. By February 1977 the cost of fighting the blaze had passed $50,000.

May 1977

According to the Knight news service, the U.S. Supreme Court will soon rule on that burning issue: "When people flush their toilets in one state and the product winds up in another, is that interstate commerce?"

February 1978

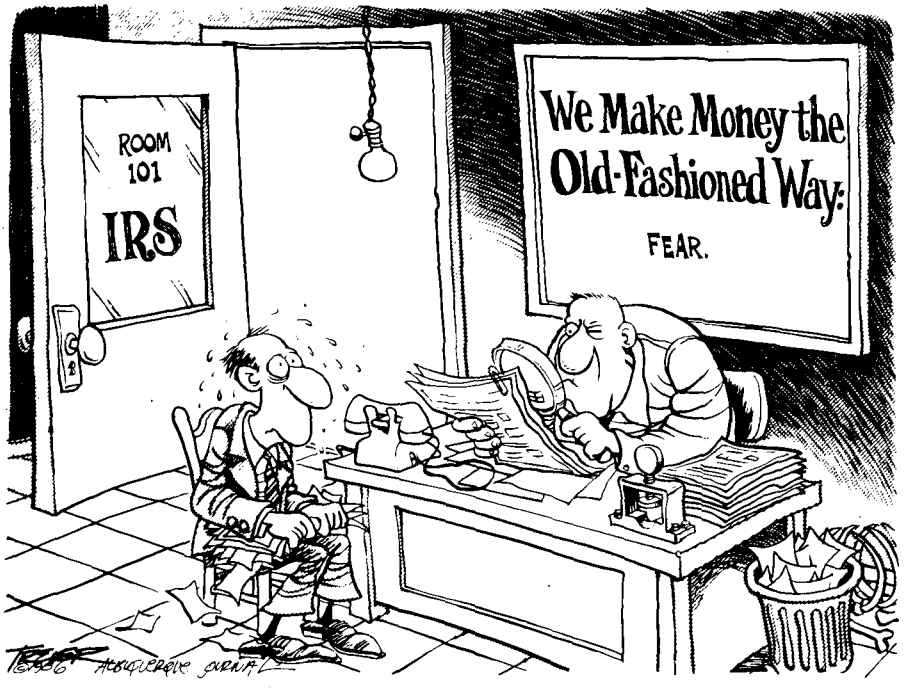
Great Moments in Political Philosophy: "Persons who rely on the Supreme Court test that something is obscene only if it has no redeeming value are 'depraved, mentally-deficient, mind-warped queers,' the Utah Supreme Court said in upholding a Salt Lake City obscenity ordinance" (*Los Angeles Times*).

April 1978

—Bill Birmingham

Teachers on the public school payroll are incensed by a growing reliance on competency tests for instructors. Little wonder the panic. During a recent teachers' strike in New Orleans, one gifted public school professor proudly paraded a picket: "We are striking for descent wages." A printed study guide for Virginia's third-graders asks, "What did the sculpture told the archologists?" But the prize for this semester must go to the conscientious civil servant in the Mobile, Alabama, learning institution who wrote a letter to the parents of a youngster in trouble: "Scott is dropping in his studies he acts as if he don't care. Scott want pass in his assignment at all, he had a poem to learn and he fell to do it." Poor Scott.

August 1979



Tom and Jane Fonda-Hayden are really getting screwed. I mean, they've got this nice little piece of property up in Santa Barbara, and they paid good money for it—500,000 big ones—back in 1977. And now they want to put a magnificent children's theater up there so as to entertain all the swell youngsters who will be going to their super summer camp in years to come. It's *their* land, and they *own* it, and they aren't hurting anyone else, and why can't they do what they want. Right?

Wrong, Tom and Jane. You can't. Tough taco. No way. See ya later. It's just like this: There are these things called "land-use controls." And they give local politicians the right to decide what people can do with the land they own.

Now, Tom and Jane, y'all thought it was pretty nifty when scummy developers and low-income people were bounced right out of those really pretty suburban hideaways you $500,000 ranch people like to hang out in. But the same scoundrels you gave the power to decide land use then, they've got it now—right when *you* need a permit just to let kids have a theater. And these politicians, neighbors of yours, they don't like you. They think you're Reds! They think you're gonna "brainwash" those kiddies! And so they can stop you from putting that theater in. They are The People, and they have The Power. Thank you, Tom and Jane!

March 1981

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has scored still another blow for the dignity of man. In the Christmas just past, merry proletarians celebrated the Joy of Marx with a blissful new holiday gift sensation: toilet paper subscriptions. Due to the responsibilities of international leadership, the USSR's resources are a bit strained lately (like the past 64 years, approximately), and the traditional T.P. is rather tough to come by. This is a small sacrifice that socialist workers for brotherhood and justice are happy and honored to make so as to advance the cause (and Red tanks in Kabul). Yet, a nice wipe would be a great gift idea. And so...voila! Sovietland's "toilet paper futures" now grant the bearer of such card to be the first in line whenever any store actually has a supply. "My mother enrolled for a subscription," proclaimed one Russian revo-

STOCK INVESTORS.....

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A VICTIM OF
THE BURNING MATCH

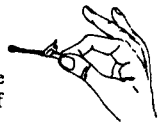
ALL Stock Exchanges & Markets work the same way. — It doesn't matter whether you are buying & selling on the NYSE, or the AMEX, VSE, OTC, or any of the other lesser quoted exchanges. They all work on the principle of THE BURNING MATCH.

When the business decides to "go public" by offering shares of the business to investors,
THE MATCH IS LIGHTED

After the preliminary work is done;
THE BURNING MATCH IS PASSED
to an Underwriter. This is when the prospectus is written, necessary registrations are made, and marketing channels are opened.

With all of the disclosures made, prospectus printed and registration completed, the Underwriter
PASSES THE BURNING MATCH
to the Brokers and Dealers. They begin the process of selling the offering to the public; YOU, the investor.

As the public buys and sells,
THE BURNING MATCH IS PASSED
again and again, from investor to investor. Profits are taken. Losses are suffered. All the while, the stem of the burning match is getting shorter and shorter.



Eventually, when there is NO "Greater Fool" to take the heat,
SOMEBODY GETS BURNED!!

It doesn't matter whether the company is a Big Name traded on the Big Board, or a little name traded in the pink sheets. Neither longevity, nor profits, have any effect on **THE BURNING MATCH** — some companies just have longer matches; or matches that burn more slowly.

Emotion fires **THE BURNING MATCH.** Unfortunately, emotional buying results in emotional selling; causing the match to burn that much faster. (October 19, 1987, proved the principle.)

Historically, **MOST INVESTORS LOSE MONEY** in the stock market. And, of those who don't lose money, the majority have a net annual yield on their investments on a par with what they could have earned in a Money Market Account at their local bank. (The only thing they would lose by having their money in a Money Market Account would be the adrenalin rushes as they take their profits and suffer their losses.)

THE FIRST BURNING MATCH

At some long forgotten point in time, someone (investment banker, broker, or investor) realized that the value of a "share" of a business could be extrapolated into the "future." If a business was adding to its asset base as it grew and prospered, then the "future" of the share was worth more than its original cost.

Later, it was observed that the "news" of future economic changes could be used to change the value of the shares. Soon, rumors of future economic changes and even street gossip were as effective as real news.

Eventually, **SOMEBODY GOT BURNED.** When the extrapolated future conditions and potentials weren't realized, there was no "greater fool" to take the heat.

TODAY'S BURNING MATCH

Today, "stock" is only a product of the business and finance communities. It is manufactured at a cost, marketed, and sold for a profit.

Each and every company offering shares of stock can be personified by **THE BURNING MATCH.** Each is a separate and distinct market unto itself. And, each market can be either a raging Bull or a killer Bear.

It doesn't matter where or what you trade — on the Big Board or Over The Counter; Initial Public Offering or in the aftermarket; penny stocks or blue chips; industrials or public utilities. Each company offering shares of stock is a market unto itself and each is **A BURNING MATCH.**

BULL? BEAR?
IT DOESN'T MATTER

No matter whether the prevailing market conditions are considered to be Bullish or Bearish, **THE BURNING MATCH** exists as the underlying principle. The market is only the place where the matches are sold. The matches themselves are represented by the shares of stock available. The flame governs the action.

Even on October 19, 1987, there were some few — although very few — stocks that did go up in price, against the major down movement of the market as a whole. Those particular stocks were Bullish because there were more than enough buyers competing to own them.

You can make a fortune in the stock market; Bull or Bear, as long as you know you are always dealing with a **BURNING MATCH.** Then, trade that Burning Match on the emotional responses of the other investors who don't yet know the match is burning.

TRADING THE BURNING MATCH
(Profitably)

You can make a fortune trading stock in either a Bull or Bear market. The secret is in knowing **WHEN** to Buy and **WHEN** to sell. **THE BURNING MATCH** can tell you **WHEN!!**

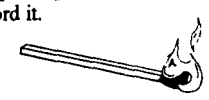
If you had been trading **THE BURNING MATCH** prior to October 19, 1987, you could have been substantially out of the market when it took its super nosedive.

By simply knowing that **THE BURNING MATCH** exists, and using that knowledge to your advantage, you can, more often than not, **KEEP FROM BEING BURNED.** (As long as you are right more times than you are wrong, your profits can be assured.) And, when you keep from getting burned, you also make a profit.

Let THE BURNING MATCH tell you how!!

Order your copy, TODAY!! Trading Systems far inferior to **THE BURNING MATCH** are selling for hundreds, even thousands, of dollars. But, you can have **THE BURNING MATCH** Trading System for only $10 — and watch your profits in the market grow; rather than go up in smoke.

Get your copy of **THE BURNING MATCH** before October 19 happens again. The next time it happens, you may not have enough left to afford it.



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THE BURNING MATCH
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I'm tired of getting burned. Please send my personal copy of THE BURNING MATCH.

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VINTAGEBRICKBATS

lutionary, "and she thinks it's wonderful. She called me all excited and said, 'I hope for the day that you too can buy toilet paper this way.' " Oh, just give 'em time. What's the rush? There's always *Pravda*.

March 1981

—Thomas W. Hazlett

From the city that gave us Frank Sinatra and *On the Waterfront*, we now have real fireworks at city hall. Hoboken, New Jersey, Mayor Steve Cappiello thinks Councilman Thomas Vezzetti is a disgracefully sloppy dresser. So during a council meeting the mayor tossed a lighted firecracker in Vezzetti's direction. "I wasn't trying to hurt him," Cappiello says. "I threw it so he would become more alert and realize that the seam on his orange pants was torn." Vezzetti was outraged. The mayor "is an idiot," the councilman says. "Can you imagine a grown man throwing firecrackers? And where did he get them anyway? Firecrackers are illegal in Hoboken."

October 1984

Ice cream lovers beware! Your local malt shop may be finking for the Selective Service. Seven years ago, brothers Eric and Greg Hentzel invented a fictitious friend named "Johnny Klomberg," gave him their own Palo Alto, California, address, and signed him up for a birthday club at Farrell's Ice Cream Parlor so that they and their "friend" could get free ice cream. The parlor didn't fall for the scam, but Uncle Sam did. "Johnny" just received notice reminding him to register for the draft. Col. Will Ebel, assistant director of the Selective Service System, says his agency has a computerized list from the ice cream parlor with the names and addresses of young boys from 12 western states. Think about *that* the next time you enjoy your tutti-frutti.

November 1984

Ah, glorious Sweden, where all a citizen's needs are capably handled by the state from cradle to grave. Social welfare authorities want to take three-year-old Mikael Johansson away from his mother and put him in a foster home. Does the mother beat or neglect the child? Not exactly—it's just that she's too overweight to care for him properly, say the slim folks at social welfare. They contend that Inger Johansson's appearance would have an adverse effect on the child. In the brave new world of the welfare state, only the thin and beautiful will be allowed to have children.

February 1985

Your tax dollars at work: What exactly does the U.S. Government Office of Oversight do? A San Francisco man spotted the number for the agency in his phone book and decided to find out. After about a dozen rings, a government clerk answered. "Actually, we don't do anything," she honestly confessed. "There has been an oversight in the Department of Oversight. We've been abolished."

May 1986

—Mark Edward Crane

The Dogs of Capitalism,

by Mitchell Jones,

is a book that turns the world upside down.

Truth in Advertising

If you are a person who believes strongly in the importance of fitting in, of getting along, of being accepted by others, if you have allowed social pressures to determine your character and your convictions, then *The Dogs of Capitalism* is not the book for you. You will hate it, and you will consider any money you have spent on it to be wasted.

If, on the other hand, you are an oddball who doesn't care whether he fits in, if you prefer beliefs that are true, even if they are unpopular—if your character and convictions have been determined by the reasoned judgment of your own mind—then *The Dogs of Capitalism* is the book for you. Reading it will be an experience you will never forget, because it is an overpowering affirmation of the rightness of what you are and of the way you have chosen to live your life.

* * *

The Dogs of Capitalism, hardcover, 336 pages, 44 illustrations. Price is $24.95 postpaid. Limit one copy per order. (We will explain why.) Texas residents add $1.50 sales tax. Send order to:

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SWAZILAND '88

4th World Conference of Libertarian International

— *August 7 - 13, 1988* —

PANELS: There will be panels on applying "The Solution" in other trouble spots around the world: the Middle East and Ireland for example. There will also be an important panel seeking a new direction for the Ayn Rand movement and a seminar on that subject by **Jason Alexander**, author of the new and hotly controversial book, *AYN RAND, LIBERTARIANS AND THE FIFTH REVOLUTION.*

THE CONFERENCE will be held at the luxurious Royal Swazi Sun Hotel/Spa in Mbabane, Swaziland. Attractions include a gambling casino, a swimming pool, an 18-hole golf course, a bowling green, a health spa with hot pools, plus horseback riding. At the nearby Mbabane African Native Craft Market there are pottery, basketware and tapestries of a nature similar to those used when Africa was unexplored.

PHOTO SAFARI: As an added attraction we have organized an exciting 2-day wild game photographic safari to the famed Kruger National Game Park.

FYI: Swaziland is a small independent kingdom located in Southeast Africa and surrounded on three sides by South Africa and on one by Mozambique. It has a stable free market economy which has caused the *Wall Street Journal* to speculate as to whether this country should not be known as "The Switzerland of Southern Africa".

FEATURED SPEAKERS

ON SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID

Leon Louw and **Frances Kendall** *(South Africa),* authors of the best-selling book *AFTER APARTHEID, The Solution for South Africa* and winners of Libertarian International's "Freedom Torch" gold medals in Stockholm (1986). Kendall and Louw and the ideas contained in their book have been praised by such disparate individuals as Winnie Mandela and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi; Milton Friedman and Senator Edward Kennedy. Coretta Scott King has described Louw as a prominent leader in the fight against apartheid and Louw and his ideas were well received when he spoke recently before a special committee of the United Nations.

Clem Senter, Director of the Anglo American Corporation (South Africa's largest business conglomerate) is an outspoken critic of apartheid and author of the best-selling video, "South Africa and the World in the 1990s".

Albert Koopman, a white South African businessman who has challenged the evil of state apartheid laws and who is reforming the workplace — now!

James Mbetse, a highly successful South African black businessman who has valiantly fought the system and won. He will explain how socialism crushes black entrepreneurs.

THE WORLD

Hernando de Soto, author of the best-selling book *EL OTRO SENDERO* and President of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy in Peru is a widely acclaimed expert on "parallel economies" and the way out for stagnating "Third World" economies.

PLUS — A Host of Bright Stars: **Barbara Branden** (author of "The Passion of Ayn Rand"); L.I.'s VP **Jim Elwood**; **Bruce** (Patrick Henry) **Evoy**; U.S. presidential speechwriter **Karl Hess**; L.I.'s Holland Rep **Hubert Jongen**; **Vincent Miller** (L.I.'s President and winner of the European BENELUX Libertarian of the Year Award - 1987); **Dr. Steve Pejovich** (Director of the Center for Education and Research in Free Enterprise at Texas A & M University).

Full Luxury Package: Includes double occupancy rooms at the fabulous Royal Swazi Sun Hotel/Spa, full conference, all meals, two banquets and a 2-day Photographic Safari in the Kruger National Game Park. ☐ **$478 US** shared ☐ **$562 US** single

Full Package: (As above but less Safari) ☐ **$288 US** shared ☐ **$372 US** single

Economy Package: (Less Safari and food package — bed & breakfast only) ☐ **$263 US** shared ☐ **$347 US** single

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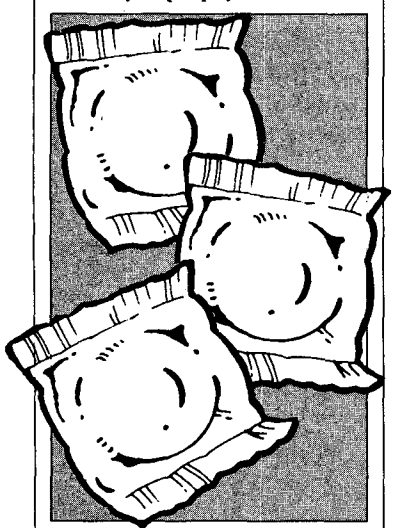
LIBERTARIANS SHOWING THE WORLD THE WAY TO FREEDOM AND PEACE

Libertarian International, 9308 Farmington Drive, Richmond, Virginia 23229 (804) 740-6932

Look How Far We've Come

In the male products area, there has been a new thrust into magazine advertising. Following Julius Schmid Co.'s very low-key ads promoting "birth control for men" in *Playboy* and similar magazines, competitor Young's Drug Products Corp. has started placing half-page full-color illustrated ads for Trojan prophylactics in



such major magazines as *Look*. Although still pitched to the "prevention of disease" theme, the ads are nonetheless a significant departure from tradition.

December 1971

Turner Outdoor Advertising of Atlanta has burst the condom barrier by erecting 30 billboards boosting the Ramses brand. It's the first time in American history that such wares have been hawked via billboard.

March 1986

Mark S. Fowler: *A pleasant surprise*

May a Hundred Channels Bloom

Earlier this year several people involved in radio and television news began to question the wisdom of the government's control of the media via the Federal Communications Commission....the conspiracy of silence has been broken.

November 1971

Support is growing among the public, broadcasters, and Congress to end government control of broadcast content.

August 1975

Will the momentum of deregulation in radio, TV, and telephones let up under the Reagan administration? Many observers worry that it will, because of the appointment of Mark S. Fowler, generally considered a supporter of the established broadcasting industry, as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission....Major initiatives that would threaten the status quo are unlikely to emerge from the FCC.

August 1981

Recent speeches by the new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Mark S. Fowler, lend strong support to his contention that he really *is* for deregulation.

September 1981

If there were a Nobel Prize for government agencies that reduce their own powers, this year's award would have to go to the Federal Communications Commission. Under the leadership of chairman Mark Fowler, the commission has freed communications technologies from the shackles of commission regulation at a dizzying rate.

December 1982

Thank God

On 1 July 1973 the United States military draft came to an end, amidst complaints and controversy.

September 1973

The Post Office: To Know It Is To Hate It

Postmaster General Elmer T. Klassen recently announced plans to raise first-class rates from 8 cents to 10 cents in January; this...is bringing increasing cries of anguish from citizens, businessmen, and Congressmen.

October 1973

"Use commercial small-parcel carriers as a cheaper alternative to priority mail and U.S. Postal Service–insured parcels." So reads one of 10 cost-saving suggestions from the federal government's own General Services Administration....

August 1976

"We don't want to take the risk" of losing more vital mail. "Our last two mailings we sent by United Parcel Service." The head of a corporation? No, the speaker is Kenneth Duff, senior staff officer at the Department of Agriculture.

April 1978

Yet another government agency is switching from the government's postal service to private United Parcel Service. This time it's the Internal Revenue Service.

May 1979

John Crutcher—a commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission...pointed out that the Postal Service's operation is currently "stodgy and barnacle-encrusted...."

October 1983

In a recent op-ed piece in the *Los Angeles Times*, Federal Trade Commission chairman James Miller III suggested doing away with the [private express statutes] altogether and letting private companies deliver first-class mail.

June/July 1985

In a blunt open letter to Postmaster General Preston Tisch, Federal Trade Commission Chairman Daniel Oliver sums up the sentiment well: "Postal service is bad, and customers are unhappy"....Tisch is no dummy. He had his reply [to Oliver] delivered by a courier service. A Postal Service spokesman explained to the *Wall Street Journal*, "It's just that we wanted it to arrive as soon as possible."

October 1987

Speculation, '70s-style

Recent developments appear to be bringing closer the day when Americans will have the financial security of being able to own gold—legally.

February 1973

Stoning the Drug Laws

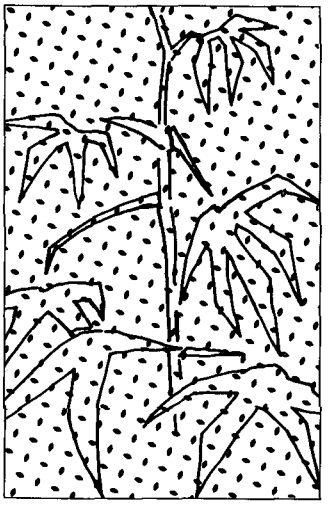
Stating that "marijuana is here to stay," [Consumers Union] urged complete legalization of the use, cultivation, and sale of marijuana.

February 1973

The latest FBI figures show that not only are marijuana arrests still increasing, they are becoming an *ever-greater* percentage of all drug arrests....

February 1976

"We believe the time has



come to liberalize laws regarding the possession of marijuana for personal use." So stated the presidents of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association in a joint appeal to Congress and the state legislatures.

February 1978

The privately funded Drug Abuse Council has released a national report stating that more Americans than ever are using drugs and the trend is not likely to let up in the near future.

July 1980

In response to an...antiparaphernalia ordinance, the Loading Zone [headshop] in Thousand Oaks [California] continues selling what appear to the untrained eye to be the same products, but they're being sold with radically different marketing techniques....Roach clips have been magically reincarnated as memo holders and hat ornaments.

February 1983

Former television stars Tom Rettig of "Lassie" and Billy Gray of "Father Knows Best" have endorsed a California initiative to legalize marijuana. Rettig reported that his nearly 20 years of pot smoking hadn't harmed his life.

June 1983

We had to read through the column twice to make sure we were understanding correctly, but there it was—conservative superstar and syndicated columnist William Buckley reversing himself and calling for the legalization of drugs, including cocaine and heroin.

June/July 1985

Body Counts in the Other Drug War

One of the more sacred of Washington's sacred bovines has long been the Food and Drug Administration. Only in recent years, with the rise of health-food advocates and of the NAS-NRC drug efficacy studies, has there begun to be direct challenge of the agency's right to dictate what substances shall or shall not be on the market.

February 1972

In a November 1981 editorial entitled "100,000 Killed," the *Wall Street Journal* launched a round of salvos at the FDA for its obstruction of the use of the drug propranolol, which has been shown effective in England since 1965 in preventing second heart attacks.

February 1982

For people afflicted with AIDS and other terminal illnesses, deregulation may now make the difference between life and death. Taking what the *Wall Street Journal* called "a giant step for the sick and dying," the Reagan administration has instructed the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to ease its regulations so that patients can more quickly receive experimental drugs that might save their lives.

June 1987

And How Do You Suppose They Celebrated?

California's odious law forbidding oral copulation was struck down as unconstitutional by a Los Angeles Superior Court judge on 11 September.

December 1972

REASON's Weirdest Trends

One of the holdovers from the days of 40-year lifespans is the ideal of marriage "till death us do part." Mounting divorce statistics...belie our devotion to this ideal....One way of facing reality might be to make marriage contracts for shorter terms, with options to renew. This idea was proposed this year in Maryland.

December 1971

The Recreation and Parks Committee of the Los Angeles City Council has recommended removing the City's ban on ex-

posing the female breast in parks and on beaches.

January 1972

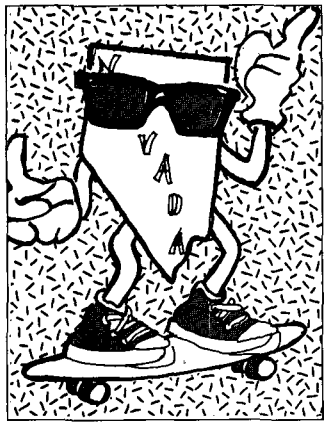
The director of the Laboratory for the Study of the Relations between Cosmic Psychophysiological Rhythms in France has just published a study that found no correlation between the character traits of 2,000 successful people and the signs of the zodiac under which they were born.

July 1982

The Coolest State in the Union

Nevada is the first state to adopt a provision for "none of the above" as an alternative to the candidates listed on the ballot.

August 1975



In the September primary elections, Nevada's recently enacted "None of the Above" ballot law received its first test. And proved to be a winner. In a race among three candidates for the state's seat in the U.S. House, None of the Above collected the most votes.

January 1979

None of the Above captured one-third of the vote versus Kennedy and Carter in the Nevada Democratic primary in late May.

August 1980

Lesson from Britain: Start with the Pubs

During World War I over 200 taverns, hotels, and liquor stores [in England] were nationalized, allegedly to combat drunkenness in munitions factories....Now, after 57 years, the pubs are being denationalized....

August 1973

A majority of British workers now disagrees with the policies of nationalization and egalitarianism which have been the core of Labour Party policy.

July 1978

Denationalization looks like the coming thing in the United Kingdom. The election of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister is expected to lead to a major shift in the role of the state in Britain.

August 1979

In rapid succession Britain's new government led by Margaret Thatcher is moving to undo the socialist accomplishments of the postwar era.

November 1979

Britain's Thatcher administration has announced the biggest denationalization program of its term so far. Its object: North Sea oil and gas.

February 1982

The British are farther along. Over the past two years, four major enterprises have been "privatized" (as the British call denationalization)....

November 1982

Were We Ever Wrong

The myth that the government could go on indefinitely creating give-away programs financed from "somewhere" has finally run its course.

November 1972

Were We Ever Right

The Social Security system is headed for disaster....

April 1975

The Life and Death of a Bureaucracy

Long recognized by economists as the enforcer of an airline cartel, the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) is now in a fight for its political life. In addition to the usual contingent of free-market economists, its opponents now include Ralph Nader (who thinks the agency should be abolished altogether), Sen. Edward Kennedy (who has become an advocate of deregulation), the Departments of Transportation and Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, and the White House.

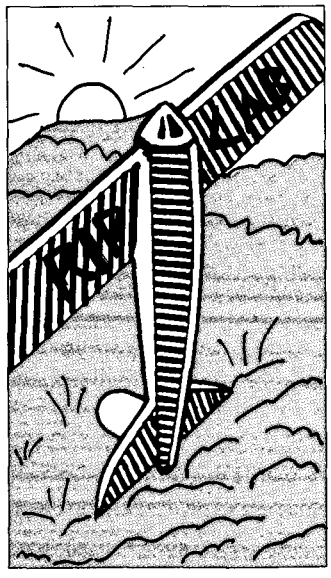
July 1975

The administration's long-awaited bill to partially deregulate commercial aviation was submitted to Congress in October. Its passage would be a major step in opening the industry to competition, breaking up the present cartel-like structure.

January 1976

Under the leadership of economist Alfred Kahn, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the CAB has substantially reduced government regulation of the airlines. The result has been fare reductions, new service, and an unprecedented boom in air travel.

November 1978



President Carter signed into law the Airline Deregulation Act on October 25. It loosens the Civil Aeronautics Board's control over fares and routes, ends them entirely by 1983,

and abolishes the CAB altogether in 1985.

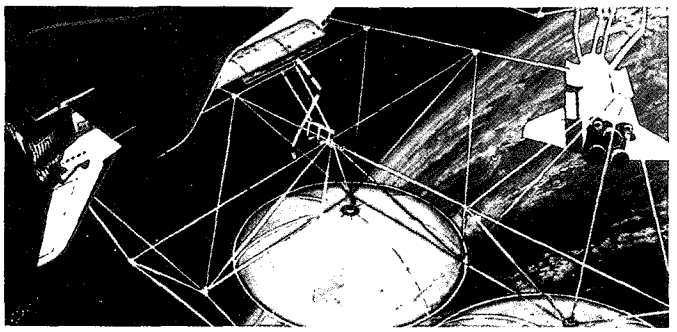
February 1979

Laissez-faire in aviation? We're getting closer, as the Civil Aeronautics Board in May removed all controls on airline fares for routes of under 200 miles and expanded "fare flexibility" for longer routes.

August 1980

It was a death worth celebrating: on December 31, the Civil Aeronautics Board passed into history.

February 1985



We Neeed Our Private Space

In an important policy development, the Carter administration has rejected proposals for costly new space ventures. Instead, it plans to scale down NASA budgets and turn over many operational roles to private industry.

January 1979

The growth of private-sector launch services continues.

May 1982

Lee Scherer, the former director of the Kennedy Space Center in Florida...predicted...that NASA may start turning over launch operations to private business, "I would say, within three years, if you want to try to pin it down."

December 1982

Although many space enthusiasts have cheered President Reagan's commitment to a permanent, manned space station, there is growing doubt about how such a goal should be achieved—and at what cost. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has proposed an *$8-billion* program to build such a station....NASA is essentially proposing to reinvent the wheel.

October 1984

In the wake of the Challenger disaster, President Reagan announced that NASA will launch only 14 more commercial satellites from the space shuttle before bowing out of the commercial launching business.... Exit NASA, enter private industry.

December 1986

True privatization of space transportation is finally under way....In various stages of evolution are private launch-vehicle developers, private launch operators, and even private spaceports.

January 1988

Some Things Never Change

Chinese officials seem to be straddling the fence on free speech—at one time encouraging the expression of dissent, and then striking out when the dissent seems too threatening.

June 1980

If It's Broke, Fix It

For the first time in 20 years, a South African prime minister, Pieter Botha, has conceded that the separatist policy of apartheid has not worked.

February 1981

Let Freedom Ring

The U.S. Supreme Court has let stand an FCC ruling that for the first time permits other companies to compete with American Telephone and Telegraph and Western Union in providing long-distance communications services, both voice and data. One of the competitors, MCI Telecommunications Corp., is already advertising "Competitive Long Distance" service....

January 1976

Although Congress failed to enact a telephone deregulation bill this session, the industry—helped along by the Federal Communications Commission—continues to move toward open competition.

December 1980

In February, American Telephone & Telegraph announced that it will divide its 22 operating companies into seven independent regional firms, before divesting them in accordance with the Justice Department's recent antitrust settlement... Every month brings further evidence that these services are *not* natural monopolies.

May 1982

For the first time since about 1910, when exclusive franchises were granted to local telephone companies, we're about to have a choice of local phone systems again.

January 1983

What Do the People Think Now?

A nationwide survey commissioned by the New York Stock Exchange showed 93 percent of those polled believe that Ronald Reagan should be given a chance to try his economic policies—even those they disagree with—since nothing else has worked.

March 1981

The Worst Lead Ever Written

There were elections on April 12 in Santa Monica, California. The results were generally better than expected.

July 1983

Interest Grows in Deregulation

The past five years have witnessed a competitive revolution in the banking business.

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Continued on next page

Not only has competition proliferated among banks, savings and loans, and credit unions, but there has also emerged a whole crop of "near-banks" that are giving the thrift institutions a real run for their money. The result (besides an explosion of credit) is likely to be the virtual deregulation of consumer banking.

July 1979

"I am in favor of abolishing the central bank," stated Nobel laureate Milton Friedman in a recent letter to Gold Standard Corporation....

March 1983

It couldn't happen to a nicer bunch of guys. By an 8-0 margin, the U.S. Supreme Court has dealt a serious blow to the Federal Reserve Board's campaign to limit the expansion of "nonbank banks" and thus competition in the banking markets. The Fed is furious, the banks elated, and the ultimate beneficiaries of the court's wisdom will be consumers.

May 1986

Tax Attacks

With the full revelation of White House use of the IRS for harassing administration "enemies" with special audits, for cracking down hard on "extremist" groups, favoring the president's 1972 campaign supporters, and placing political contact men within top-echelon IRS ranks, millions of Americans received an unexpected consciousness-raising about the true nature of a system based on forced taxation.

January 1974

Public opinion polls taken over the last few months indicate that popular discontent with high taxes and government spending is more widespread than many people have realized.

March 1979

A study conducted by the Rand Corporation...reports that the tax revolt is not an isolated case of discontent but rather indicates a new era of scaled-down government.

February 1980

Much to the disquiet, no doubt, of the Internal Revenue Service, the results of the most recent attitude survey commissioned by the IRS strongly indicate that a large segment of the American population consists of tax evaders.

June 1981

A General Accounting Office report released in March estimates that this year Americans—private individuals and corporations—will "cheat" on their federal income-tax returns to the tune of about $80 billion.

June 1982

Three companies that compile computerized lists of the estimated incomes of most households—Donnelly Marketing, R.L. Polk Company, and Metromail—have refused to rent their lists to the IRS. The ever-popular agency wanted the data to track down tax evaders.

February 1984

Under the new tax law, the United States now has the lowest tax rates of any major industrialized nation, and it's got the rest of the world hopping aboard.

March 1987

—Compiled by Lucy Braun

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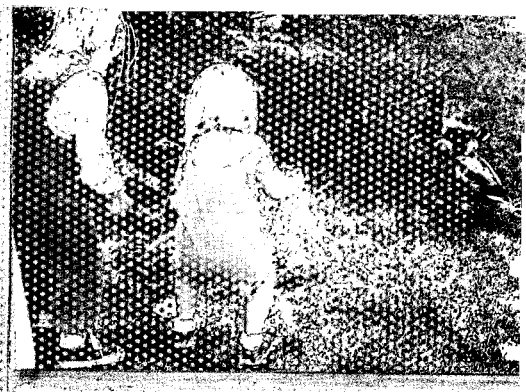
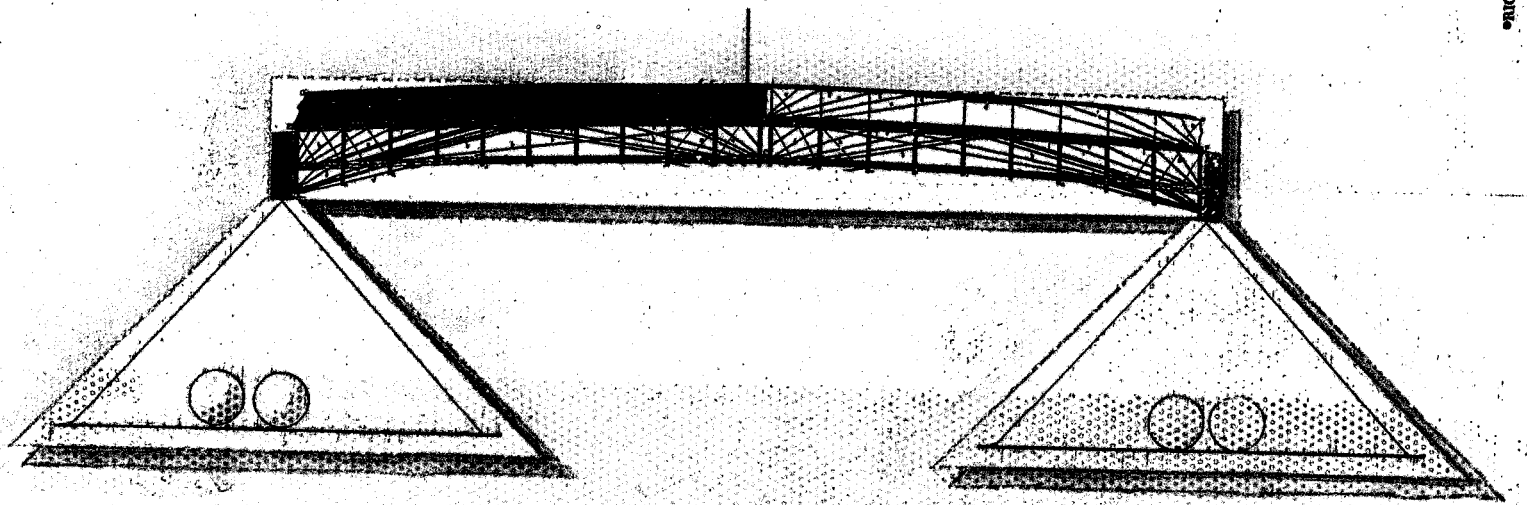
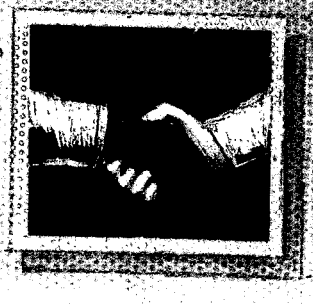
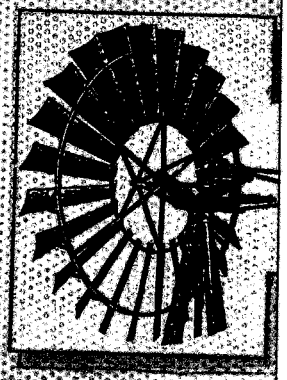




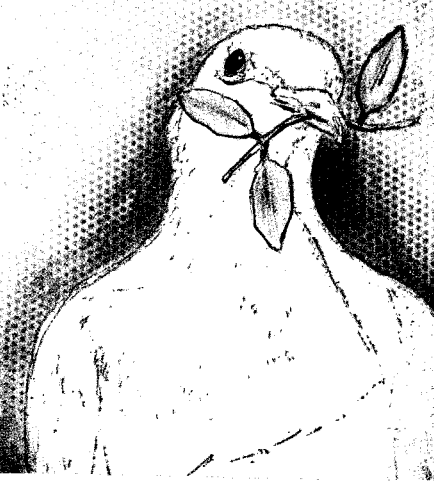




WE THE PEOPLE

Thoughts on liberty in the Preamble's light

ILLUSTRATIONS • RICHARD DOWNS



*RICHARD DOWNS

A MORE PERFECT UNION

by WALTER E. WILLIAMS

The ethnic, racial, and religious mosaic of our country carried all the potential for conflict. Yet while we as a country have made mistakes, the most notable of which is our heritage of slavery, there is nothing in our history that compares to the conflict resulting in the massive extermination of Armenians in Turkey, massacres of Chinese in Southeast Asia, Stalinization in Russia, Nazi extermination of Jews, the Protestant and Catholic conflict in Ireland, or more modern versions of the same story in Uganda, Cambodia, and Ethiopia.

Groups that readily kill one another in other parts of the world have found that they can live in relative harmony in the United States. Protestant and Catholic Irishmen battle one another in Ireland but live in peace here. The same is true of Jews and Germans, French Huguenots and French Catholics, and the Chinese and Japanese.

These various groups have lived together in relative harmony in America because for the most part it did not pay, politically, to be a Catholic or Protestant; it did not pay to be a German, a Turk, a Pole, a Japanese, or anybody else. Not that we were innocent of racism and intolerance—but there was very little political power to be distributed by race. For this we can thank the Founding Fathers.

When the Framers set out to "form a more perfect union," it is apparent they assumed that by their very nature humans are incapable of perfection and capable of doing great injustice. Were this not their vision of man, they might have spared themselves considerable controversy and debate by leaving us the Constitution's Preamble as the law of the land, perhaps amended by a commandment to the effect: "Congress and the President shall have all the necessary powers to accomplish these objectives."

Instead, the Framers had abundant evidence that humans cannot be trusted to govern wisely and justly. History has shown, and continues to show, that tyrants use constitutions as a means to further despotism and collective oppression of minorities. The specific enumeration of the duties of federal government laid out in the Articles of the Constitution thus reflected the Framers' idea that liberty requires limited government. Their immense distrust of government is apparent also in the tone of the language found in the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law,...shall not be infringed,...the right of the people...nor shall be compelled...nor be deprived,...nor shall property be taken,...shall not be construed to deny or disparage."

Imagine a mortal dying and leaving this earth and, at his next destination, encountering a set of restraints bearing any resemblance to the U.S. Constitution. He would know for sure that he was in hell, for to find such a set of restraints on authority in heaven would be a gross affront to God. It would be the same as insinuating that God is not perfect and could not be trusted to do justice. That men and government cannot be so trusted was a realization uppermost in the Framers' minds as they set about their work.

Backed by English political tradition dating back to the Magna Carta of 1215, the Founding Fathers sought to promote the idea proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." In short, the Constitution tries to perfect the union and establish justice by laying out a set of rights and responsibilities held *simultaneously* by all citizens—the rules of the game. Questions of justice were to be answered constitutionally by determining whether a government or private party encroached on a constitutionally protected right, privilege, or immunity of another.

To "form a more perfect union" and "establish justice" calls for a simultaneous solution; in order to have the one we must have the other. A social compact providing for Americans to live in peace with one another requires fundamental constitutional law that is flexible enough to meet technical, political, economic, and social changes yet permanent, rigid, and unyielding in its goal of protecting individual liberty.

The Framers saw justice in the game of life, as in any other game, as determined by the presence and enforcement of neutral rules. Government's job was to referee, to detect violations and enforce the social compact laid out in the Constitution (game rules). Clearly, it is illegitimate for government to actually play the game or to choose a side. Therefore, in the eyes of the Framers, justice

must be evaluated as a *process* and not as a *result*. At the minimum justice requires rule by *legis* (Latin for "law"), not rule by *privilegium* (Latin for "privileges," or "private law") where a person's status determines how he is treated before the law.

The government as referee, until recently, has worked out fairly well. Some evidence is the kind of wealth we have generated as a free people pursuing our private interests. But just as important is the internal conflict that we have avoided but that has plagued so much of the world.

Not only did the Framers' rules of the game leave little to be gained through racial and ethnic grouping, but the significant role of the market in the allocation of resources eliminated the need for consensus among diverse peoples and cultures. When there is government allocation of resources, a political majority must reach some sort of consensus, which always comes at the expense of the political minority.

When schooling is publicly produced, for example, a political decision must be made whether prayers will be allowed or not. Whatever the decision, it generates losers—some people, *who are forced to pay for the service*, will not have their preferences fulfilled. If those preferences differ systematically by race, ethnicity, or religion, the grounds for conflict are then laid along racial, ethnic, or religious lines.

By contrast, market allocation of resources accommodates diversity because each participant can get *some* of what he wants and does not have to pay for what he does not want. Moreover, market allocation reduces the need for a consensus. For example, people have a broad and diverse of set of preferences for clothing—but this diversity produces little conflict. The person who prefers three-piece suits simply purchases what he wants, while the person who prefers jeans does the same. Consider the conflict that could arise if, in our diverse society, choice of clothing were to require a collective decision like that in education. Market allocation permits people with diverse preferences to live in peace with one another.

Government allocation of resources raises the potential for conflict because it is a zero-sum (possibly even negative-sum) game where one person's or group's preferences can be realized only at the expense of another's. Market allocation of resources is a positive-sum game: both parties to transactions consider themselves better off.

Limited government, and thus a greater potential for market allocation of resources, not only helps to realize the Framers' dream of "a more perfect union," it also helps "establish justice." The Framers recognized that, as Thomas Paine eloquently stated, "Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country *without* government, our calamities are heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer."

Unfortunately, today's political leadership, consisting for the most part of quacks, charlatans, and hustlers, lack the wisdom and moral courage of our Founding Fathers. They are thus diligently providing us the means for suffering. r

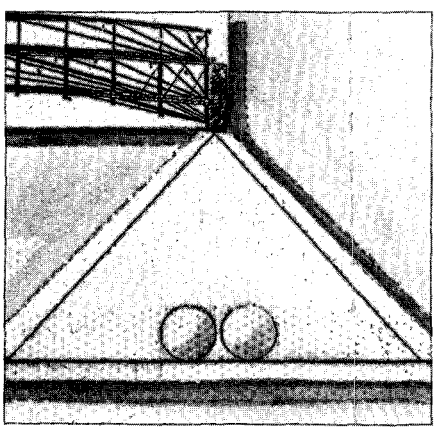
Contributing Editor Walter E. Williams is the John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics at George Mason University. His new book is All It Takes Is Guts.

ESTABLISH JUSTICE

by RICHARD A. EPSTEIN

The Preamble of our Constitution is perhaps the greatest single sentence of political rhetoric ever written. Its first three words, "We the people," projects a confident vision of unanimous and solemn purpose that helped lift up a divided and fledgling nation by its bootstraps. The remainder of the Preamble then lists a set of objects to which our national energies should be directed.

It is at this point that the Preamble speaks with two voices. Some of its great ends anticipate explicit provisions contained in the body of the Constitution. The reference to the common defense, for example, is made good by the grants of power to Congress to raise armies, maintain a navy, and call the state militia into federal service to repel external invasions, suppress insurrections, and enforce the laws of the union.



At other places, however, the Preamble works by indirection. To "establish justice" is one of the loftiest aims to which any nation can aspire, so one should expect to find in the Constitution a detailed blueprint of what justice itself demands. Yet the word *justice* is not found in the text of the original Constitution nor in the various substantive and procedural provisions contained in the Bill of Rights and subsequent constitutional amendments.

Suppose, however, that the Framers had decided to attack the question of justice head on. What should they have done? A general provision demanding that the Congress pass only just laws would have been worse than useless; it would imply some conception of justice limiting the power of Congress but would give no discernible account of how it might be applied by the Congress or president or en-

forced and interpreted by any court. Sometimes it is worse to try and to fail than to never try at all.

Nonetheless, it does not follow that the Constitution, even without the Bill of Rights, contains no provisions that bear on the question of justice. The Constitution works as a great instrument of justice not through grand substantive abstractions but through procedural protections that increase the likelihood of just laws being passed.

To see why this is the case, consider what kinds of individuals we the people will invest with political power. If we assume that public officials have matchless benevolence and boundless knowledge, then it matters little how we distribute power within government. Indeed, instead of incurring the substantial costs of setting up complex systems of power, we should ensure that all power flows to the central authorities, whom we can trust as a matter of course to do the right thing. Our goal should be to reduce the administrative costs of decisionmaking, confident that everything else will thereafter follow a benign direction.

The presumptions about governmental structure, however, are quickly reversed once we change our assumptions about human nature. Thus, suppose we assume, as I believe it to be the case, that the persons who take the reins of power are no better or worse on average than the lot of ordinary individuals who elect them: some will be good and others bad. Now the fear is that periods of bad rule will result in a usurpation of power so that virtuous people will never again be able to assume positions of authority within the state.

Given this as the abiding fear, then our paramount task in devising a constitution is to divide the power into constituent parts and to create structures that make it difficult for any small group of individuals, let alone any single person, to take the mantle of power. Of these concerns were born the key architectural provisions of the Constitution: separation of powers with its system of checks and balances, and federalism with its doctrine of enumerated powers, which limited the jurisdiction of the federal government to certain specific tasks of national importance.

Viewed in this way the original Constitution displays a unity of vision that in large measure accounts for its success and durability. Most constitutional provisions follow and implement appropriate procedures for getting to just outcomes through the combined force of legislative, executive, and judicial power. Modern theories of contractarian justice, whether associated with John Rawls on the left or James Buchanan on the right, focus their attention on the set of procedures necessary to generate particular outcomes, not on the outcomes themselves. The framers of the original Constitution were themselves early adherents of this general outlook on life.

The Constitution, then, represents a sustained and careful effort to finesse the general question of what particular rules are needed to establish justice. The question is whether a Constitution so drafted could make good on the promise of the Preamble by its principles of separation of powers and federalism alone.

The courts' liberal extension of the "police power" turns the principles of limited government upside down.

In a sense, we the people have never tried that experiment, because we feared the outcome would be negative. During the ratification debates, it became clear that the Constitution would be rejected if no provision were made for the speedy inclusion of a Bill of Rights, to operate as a substantive limitation against the power of the federal government.

To establish justice, it seemed, required more than the articulation of structural and procedural safeguards. Yet note that here, too, the drafters of the Bill of Rights did not regard it as sufficient to require Congress to "establish justice," as the Preamble requires. Instead, the genius of the Bill of Rights is that it adopts a set of principles with explicit substantive content that embodies the principles of a just society. It is clear, moreover, that the Bill of Rights does not equate establishing justice with the formation of large aggregations of government power, with explicit public directives about the proper distribution of wealth, or with exhortations that citizens have a wide range of positive duties one toward another.

Instead, the Bill of Rights is directed toward limitations on the power of the national government. Its key provisions speak of life, liberty, and property just as ordinary people would regard them, as rights that are designed to ensure for each person security and autonomy against government intrusion. These rights to liberty and property are so defined that their enjoyment is consistent with their like enjoyment by all other persons simultaneously. And these rights are conducive to the development of individual creative talents, which can be sustained and nourished by a strong network of voluntary associations.

To be sure, the Bill of Rights does not envision no place for government. Persons *can* be deprived of life, liberty, and property, but only with due process of law. Private property *can* be taken for public use upon payment of just compensation. But the emphasis is always on the use of government to support individual liberty and private property and not to subvert them.

Have the constitutional principles designed to "establish justice" been upheld? The record is mixed.

Many of the structural limitations have had sufficient clarity to withstand the pressures and poundings of two centuries of political and social conflict. Much of the Bill of Rights, such as the protections of freedom of speech and the prohibitions against unreasonable searches and seizures, are generally in good shape, notwithstanding some inevitable anomalies in the case law.

Other features of the Constitution have not fared so well, however. The rise of independent administrative agencies, for example, is not provided for in the original Constitution. The blessing that they have received from the Supreme Court has resulted in a concentration of power in the hands of elected officials, contrary to the principles of limited government.

Similarly, many of the substantive decisions of the Supreme Court have gone astray precisely because they have failed to respect the general protections of liberty and property set forward by the Bill of Rights. The infamous decision in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896 announced a regime that allowed the government to require "separate but equal" public facilities for black and white persons—a result that could not possibly have been reached if the Court had begun its deliberations with

the full awareness that the evils of faction always require sharp limitations on state power.

While we are well rid of *Plessy*, some of its lessons have not been fully learned. Current American constitutional law gives unquestioned power to federal and state governments to limit the disposition of both labor and property. The minimum wage, collective bargaining statutes, rent control laws, and the massive spate of retroactive statutes are routinely sustained under very extravagant interpretations of the state's "police power"—the power to regulate in the interests of "public health, safety, morals, and welfare."

This liberal extension of the police power turns the principles of limited government upside down. While the systems of regulating labor and property are far less pernicious than explicit racial segregation, they still give offense to our basic constitutional system and have resulted in severe diminutions of individual liberty and the prosperity it can bring.

It is often said that judicial review is a two-edged sword because it allows judges to do evil as well as good. No one could deny that judges exceed their proper power when they follow a private political agenda that is nowhere found in the Constitution. If the Constitution only contained a provision to "establish justice," then it might be understandable why today's courts and legislatures have gone so far astray.

But our Constitution did far better than this. It contained and articulated a particular conception of justice that rests on the protection of private property and individual liberty. Where the Supreme Court has followed these principles in dealing with legislation, as it has of late with racial segregation, then it has been on firm ground. Where it has deviated from them, as with economic liberties, it has permitted this nation to go astray.

It would be nice if we could avoid the difficulties of judicial mischief by following a simple principle of judicial restraint. But the Constitution does not allow so simple an escape or so tempting a shortcut in its effort to establish justice. That business requires all public officials, including judges, to understand the permanent and sound principles of government on which our Constitution rests. ◻

Richard A. Epstein, the author of Takings, *is James Parker Hall Professor of Law at the University of Chicago.*

INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY

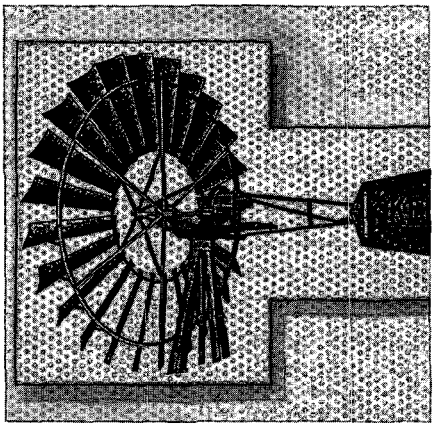
by KARL HESS

Domestic tranquillity cannot be insured—by any system, anywhere, anyway. Domestic tranquillity can be *imposed*, at least for a time, if there is some group with enough brute force to stomp anyone who seems discontented. Tranquillity, when imposed, is the ultimate totalitarianism.

Domestic tranquillity can, however, be *arranged*, its characteristics can be agreed to. Politically, such a tranquillity would be voluntarism. Socially, it would be neighborliness.

Historically, there is a crucial tension between imposition and arrangement, between coercion and agreement, between institutionally defined citizenship and ad hoc neighborliness. The degree to which a social area (such as a nation state or any of its political subdivisions) moves toward or away from one of those polar positions is more or less precisely the definition of the society itself (free society, welfare state, command society, dictatorship, totalitarian state).

Consider the modern definition of a citizen, the person generally accorded highest marks for being a tranquil, proper member of society. The citizen has become merely a voter, at best. In relatively open and free societies, such as ours in the United States, this has come to mean that every several years a minority of the residents in the social-political area can select, from a list prepared by an even smaller minority, people who are casually and constantly referred to as "leaders."



The fully voiced notion of the citizen-as-voter proposition is simply that some people (marked off by their zeal to lead) are, in fact, not only fit to lead but actually needed to lead the mass of people who presumably would flounder and founder without this leadership. The role of the leader is to "insure" domestic tranquillity, which is seen to mean to insure the provision of any and all entitlements that will, in fact, make people happy (that is, tranquil). Extraordinary.

In all such arrangements of tranquillity there is a hitch. Those things that, when provided, are expected to make people tranquil are in fact things that must be extracted from some people in order to provide them to other people. One's gain is paid for by someone else's loss. And it all depends on the use of official force, which has proven intractably difficult to restrain even in the best of societies (that is, ours!).

An *agreement* for domestic tranquillity, on the other hand, would focus on those areas and on those ranges of arrangement with which people voluntarily could and would associate themselves.

At the largest organizational level, that

of continental defense, the local voluntary militia is the arrangement of agreement; the federal defense force, paid for by compulsory taxes and occasionally conscript service, is the arrangement of compulsion. In the militia, those genuinely concerned about defense prove it by voluntarily serving. They not only contribute their time but also voluntarily finance their own arms. This sounds merely fanciful, of course, given current levels of defense spending; less so given the untapped potential of people free to innovate defense systems on the basis of the best available technologies rather than entrenched, familiar ones. Also, it seems ironic to argue that free people simply can't afford to defend themselves and remain fully free at the same time.

If the Swiss example, of compelled but absolutely universal military training, is viewed as a positive answer in favor of both compulsion and universality, the very scale of the matter must be considered. The entire country has roughly the same population as Chicago. Universal military service is now as much a part of the culture as of the law. It involves service, in effect, in your own neighborhood. And thus it could be argued, finally, that even if the system became voluntary it still would work, because it is in fact based in neighborliness.

In our own time it appears that the volunteer military force has led to greater tranquillity in such matters than during times of conscription. But, alas, the appearance is false. The U.S. military operation is now about the third-largest socialist organization on the face of the earth. Its active personnel are, indeed, volunteers. But the millions of conscripted taxpayers, whose property is systematically drafted to keep the Pentagon in the manner to which it has become accustomed, are certainly affected in ways which do not conduce to their own individual tranquillity. It is a knotty and knotted matter.

In all matters of domestic tranquillity, there currently is a woeful lack of public debate. What passes for debate is, instead, simply arguments about how best to finance whatever system is now in place. Even Ronald Reagan's vaunted promises to do otherwise have resulted simply in more money to many of the very social arrangements that he originally promised to abolish altogether.

The matter of domestic tranquillity has become simply a matter of the pacification of voting blocs. Alternatives to existing arrangements are shunned.

It cannot go on forever, however, since there is interesting competition now arising in what is actually the most vital sector of society, in the management of productive private activities. There, many managements are abandoning the central-authority, hierarchical model (the model of the command economy) and are moving toward a more fluid process in which individual creativity is encouraged over "following policy," and participation in decisions is favored over blind obedience.

The dynamic newcomers, in companies as diverse as Cray computers and Dayton-Hudson stores, seem to see leadership as a matter of inspiring talent, creativity, and risk taking. Leadership is not, that is, a matter of formal authority, the model which remains the political paradigm.

Imposed order is the tranquillity of the prison, not of a free society.

Although companies with fluid management forms may seem anything but tranquil—with their hustling, bustling internal entrepreneurship—they are tranquil in one decisive way. They have tranquilized the ancient, dreadful hunger for power for power's sake by substituting the satisfactions and sorts of power that come from meritorious human accomplishment rather than brute conquest.

What does that mean for our neighborhoods, for our purely "domestic" tranquillity? I believe that it means at least the possibility of a renaissance of individualistic ideas of self-reliance, of local cooperation as opposed to national compulsion, of decentralization as opposed to aggrandizing centralization.

Actual free-trade zones, stripped of politically controlled zoning and regulations, would be an example. Voluntary real estate covenants are a venerable example. Self-contained and self-governed condominium or other communities. Schooling as the completely voluntary activity of consenting individuals. Consenting community rather than absentee legislative decisions about medical, religious, police, sexual, and property arrangements.

The "agree" version of domestic tranquillity means that such an issue as crime, now said to be a national problem and thus susceptible only to national answers (Reagan's "war" on drugs), could be approached as wholly local in nature. One locality might agree to the most draconian approach, such as fully armed residents with an agreement to shoot intruders. Another might throw away its locks and depend on sweetness and light to pacify intruders. One might agree that drugs are fine; another might make them a killing offense. And so forth.

The homeless, who constitute another nationally popular issue, might be welcomed in a neighborhood of compassion, forbidden to enter another neighborhood. Without restrictive building and other such codes, they might even have a shot at having their own neighborhood in unclaimed or unused areas—such as the shantytowns of Hong Kong or Bogota. Charity might guide one neighborhood, tithing another, absolute indifference another. But at least, for every problem, there would be an opportunity to view it in terms of specific locality and social mood, practicality, and resources.

Variety, which we so encourage in virtually every part of life we find attractive and interesting, should not be ignored in social matters. The gray sameness and now obvious failures of every socialist state on earth should be warning enough of what happens when tranquillity is stamped downward upon people rather than percolating upward from social variety and choice. The 19th-century French anarchist journalist Pierre Joseph Proudhon suggested that "order is the daughter of and not the mother of liberty." It is certainly appropriate to ponder that today when so many politicians insist that only greater state central authority can restore order to our streets and to our economy.

Only when matters of domestic tranquillity can be defined by and subsequently maintained by local, volitional action can that tranquillity be insured or, more accurately, assured. Imposed order is the tranquillity of the prison, not of a free society. The imposed order of the

command economy has not fostered human happiness and creativity in any authoritarian state on the face of the earth.

It is obvious that any movement, today, toward a domestic tranquillity of agreement and not coercion will evolve within the framework of the nation state, a new world taking shape in the shell of the old. The tools are certainly in place. All of our modern technology moves steadily toward decentralization and miniaturization. A cybernated machine shop is a good example, a "mini" steel mill another. The profitability and high yield of small, intensive farms is another. Genetic engineering, with its almost tiny microbial factories and with gene splicers falling in cost almost as rapidly as computers, is another. And now the manipulation of materials at the atomic level is on the horizon with so-called nanotechnology.

Even war making has moved impressively to the decentralized and miniaturized technologies of terrorism, against which a good, high-tech private detective agency might be a better defense than the gigantic military establishments of the nation state. Against all of that, the mammoth state's claim to be the best guarantor of tranquillity seems obsolescent. The claims of the benefits of scale in government are certainly under question everywhere as localism and privatization become more interesting and technically feasible.

Who knows what the exact shape of an evolving free society, evolving past even the American experience that is so clearly the best so far—who knows what the social shape of the future will be? One has preferences, mainly, not sure predictions. But people free to make and to market—goods and culture—seem to me the best bet of all for a tranquillity that is both assured and profoundly domestic. ☐

Karl Hess is a West Virginia welder and computer buff and the author of Capitalism for Kids.

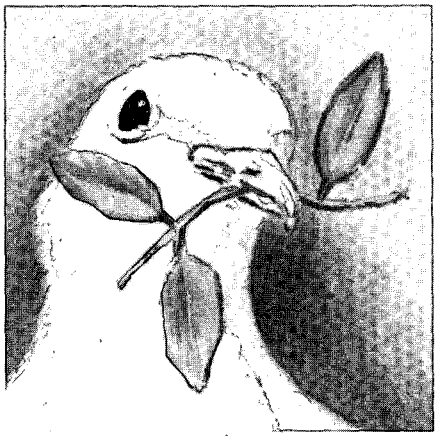
PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

by ROBERT NISBET

Of all faces of the present age in America, the military would doubtless most astonish any returned Framers. It vastly exceeds in scope, domestic and international, anything that the authors of the Constitution could easily assimilate. After all, the Constitution, as may be discerned at a glance, was never for a moment devised by its architects as the charter of a potential world empire. As a document it focuses on self-government at home, not on the government of other parts of the world.

We have nevertheless emerged from two world wars as an empire, and that truth is not reduced in the slightest by the fact that it is essentially a moral, or as I prefer here, moralistic empire. Whether the imperative is moral or economic, the infrastructure must be military—identifiable in dozens of bases, deployments, positioning of fleets and air bases, in many parts of the world.

America the moralistic empire was conceived during the Great War, the First World War, by the most morally driven human being ever to occupy the White House: Woodrow Wilson. It was Wilson's single-handed achievement to implant morally righteous ends in a war that until his momentous Fourteen Points was simply



another war—if spectacularly larger than predecessors—of dynasties, empires, and *realpolitik*.

The sheer mass of the First World War and its iron consequences will always boggle the student. Some 12 million soldiers, along with around 8 million civilians, lost their lives. Between 20 and 25 million were wounded. The devastation of property may be surmised from the fact that it was largely a trench and artillery war, and the trenches stretched from the Swiss border to the English Channel.

The consequences of the Great War are easily summarized:

1. The Seventy-Five Years War, soon no doubt to become the second Hundred Years War in Western history.

2. The totalitarian state, first in Bolshevik, then Fascist, then Nazi forms, but remarkably uniform in structure.

3. Permanent terror in the world, its prey the civilian and soldier alike.

4. The Third World, or that part of it at least formed of the *disjecta membra* of the great empires that the First War commenced destroying.

5. A financial crisis in the Western, and thus entire, world that may not have reached its zenith even yet.

For America, the Great War really began in April 1917, more than two years after its beginning in Europe. Our losses of life and casualties generally were small by the hideous standards of the European slaughter. Not a hostile shot touched America, not so much as a proven spy reached her shores.

All the same, the impact of the Great War was the second most catastrophic event in the history of the American nation, the first being of course the Civil War. A rapid series of congressional statutes placed absolute control of government, economy, and even social structure

in the hands of the president for the duration. In a matter of weeks America was transformed from the most decentralized and individualistic nation in the world to the most centralized state to be found among that war's combatant nations.

Railroads, mines, munitions factories, the whole communications network, including the Atlantic cable and Western Union, were nationalized. Production, distribution, labor, and food for civilian and military alike were completely under the president and a complex of national boards.

Intellectuals of every kind were commandeered for propaganda work against the enemy. Seventy thousand so-called Four Minute Men were mobilized, with license to enter any public meeting whatever to speak for about four minutes on patriotism. Several hundred thousand "neighborhood watchers" were also mobilized in the name of civil defense, their primary purpose that of listening for any "pro-German" or other disloyal remarks.

An Espionage Act was passed for the president by Congress in 1917 and a Sedition Act the following year, under which acts a substantial number of Americans were arraigned, indicted, or imprisoned for public remarks deemed inimical to the United States. The great labor leader Eugene Debs received a 10-year sentence for a public speech criticizing the Wilson government. A proposal to precensor newspapers was dropped reluctantly, but the postmaster general was authorized to inspect all newspapers and magazines sent through the mails and press criminal charges as required.

The blunt, and too rarely alluded to, fact is that for the duration of the war America was a war state. It was also, in the full sense, a total state.

Remarkably, the whole apparatus of the war state was dismantled within months after the Armistice in November 1918, although President Wilson's attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, conducted, with the president's apparent approval, dozens of raids during 1919, many without search warrants, upon offices and homes of suspected radicals, mostly new immigrants and oriented toward trade unionism. But while the actual machinery of the Wilson war state was taken down without delay, some powerful legacies were left, as events of the next quarter-century would make clear. One of these Wilson legacies is moralism in foreign policy.

Moralism is different from national interest, although the two may coincide in a given crisis. After Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, it was in our national interest to go to war; at the same time American morality had every right to be offended by Japanese savagery in Asia and ruthless violation of international laws in many parts of the Pacific. Nevertheless, the purpose that underlay the Framers' decision "to provide for the common defense" differs substantially from anything that might conceivably be construed as moralism—as desire for the nation to be going about the world in order to lift peoples from apparent oppression and to plant seeds of American democracy.

I am limiting myself in that assertion to the intent of the Framers, as I deduce it from the Constitution and from contemporaneous sources such as the *Federalist Papers*. There is no question but that moralism of a sort grew up during the 19th century, a moralism that went with the conception of America as a redeemer-state whose ultimate goal after bringing a whole continent under American morality was to bring ever larger parts of the world. The American Religion that Tocqueville found so fascinating had no small amount of the fervor of Christianity itself in it—and also the dynamic of, say, "Onward Christian Soldiers."

A visiting Martian would wonder why a decent sense of ordinary humility doesn't sometimes restrain America.

But the moralism of the 19th century was nothing compared to the moralism of the American presidency under Wilson. Well before he reached the White House Wilson had undergone an ecstatic, born-again conversion from the Calvinism of his fathers to the Americanism that would henceforth animate his every political thought and light up his journey into the unknown darkness of the vast jungle of despotic, archaic, and imperialistic states that, in his imagination, occupied most of the rest of the world. Wilson made no secret whatever of his belief that the Allies in the European war were as guilty as the Central Powers in possession of colonies, trading interests, subjugation of native peoples, and the like.

Neutrality, strict and absolute, was Wilson's first preference. In it he was as impassioned, as moralistic, and as evangelical as he would be a couple of years later in his espousal of the Great Crusade. Neutrality made good sense; it reflected the national interest. But Wilson wouldn't, couldn't, leave it at that. Neutrality had to be proclaimed as the work of redemption for the world; as the sole means whereby at the end of the dreadful war going on in Europe, America would be in a position to commence its missionary work. There is such a thing, he said, as a man being too proud to fight.

But as Lord Devlin has shown in painstaking detail in his magisterial *Too Proud to Fight*, that same zeal in behalf of neutrality could be turned, almost overnight, to zeal in behalf of intervention, in behalf of a war that—no matter what people like Lloyd George and Clemenceau thought the war was about—had as its purpose to make the world safe for democracy. And as Devlin puts the case so convincingly, it was when, and only when, Wilson became convinced that America's greatest opportunity to reform the world lay in participation in the war, not in neutrality, that he changed with such speed, though not without moralistic pawing of the air and clutching of the breast through the night before his April 2 address to Congress asking for a declaration of war. The same man who had moralized to the world the contretemps over eating clubs when he was president of Princeton, the same president who, in chasing Pancho Villa's bandits back over the Mexican border, had proclaimed an American service to the cause of all humanity, was ready by April 2, 1917, to moralize one of the most nakedly imperialistic wars in European history.

Thus the thrilling promise to make the world safe for democracy, thus the Fourteen Points, thus the fanatical insistence upon each jot and tittle of his own patented League of Nations. Moral, all moral, and therefore mandated to the American conscience.

We have had much of Wilsonianism ever since: In FDR's almost sedulous repetition of Wilson beginning with neutrality, then going to the Four Freedoms in January 1941 and to the Atlantic Charter in August of the same year—all, all, very familiar to the student of the American moral conscience. By the 1960s, Kennedy's promise to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship" would be

routine stuff. So would Carter's insistence that the United States was the only nation in the world qualified for moral leadership. So would Reagan's Manichaean division of the world into the Good and the Evil empires.

It would be interesting, and also useful to the citizen, to be given a breakdown of our annual $300-billion—and rising—military budget into what is required for "the common defense," chiefly against the Soviet Union, and what is appropriated primarily to gratify what General de Gaulle called America's "itch to intervene." There is the well-calculated tendency of course to declare everything, North-South as well as East-West, automatically a part of our defense against the Soviets. Despite the heavy precedents of Yugoslavia, Albania, and China, any government that can be described as Marxist-Leninist is declared a pawn or satellite of the Soviet Union. But much of this wouldn't for a moment pass the scrutiny of a blue ribbon commission created to distinguish between "for the common defense" and moralistic interventionism.

The fact is, our interventions, so often clumsy and unavailing, in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Lebanon, Iran, Grenada, and other places on the planet have little to recommend them beyond desire "to teach these people how to elect good men," to use Woodrow Wilson's phrase. Being busy-body Mrs. Grundy, America must plant seeds of American democracy—as if it were really possible—everywhere our 600-ship navy will reach.

A visiting Martian would wonder why a decent sense of ordinary humility doesn't sometimes restrain America in her stance before the world. We must have been the very last major nation to abandon chattel slavery; when we did, it was by war powers action of Lincoln in the midst of one of the bloodiest wars in history up to that time; and when freed, the blacks were condemned for 100 years in the United States to a system of segregation at least as severe as apartheid. By what piece of equity do *we* lash South Africa? I shall be very glad to see the Soviets make their difficult retreat from Afghanistan, but our own Afghanistan was 10 years spent in Vietnam in often appalling circumstances of our own creation. I can't recall much holier-than-thou response from the Soviet Union or any other nation toward us at the time.

Of all substitutes for a commonsense policy of national interest in our relations with the world, moralism is the worst on logical grounds and the most dangerous on any count. The fatuousness is often compounded by the fact that a given moralistic position taken by the United States toward a South Africa or Persian Gulf may have behind it, not a consensus of the American people, but instead a clamant minority that has been able to get the attention of the news media and then Congress.

It is always possible that America will make holy what she touches. The odds are greater that she will only make farcical what she touches—as in Iran, Angola, Grenada, and Haiti. ◻

Robert Nisbet is the Jefferson Lecturer designate for 1988. This essay is an adaptation of several parts of his forthcoming book, The Present Age *(Harper & Row).*

PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE

by TIBOR R. MACHAN

The welfare state was already on economist Nassau Senior's mind around 1834, when he designed the English Poor Laws. "It is the duty of a government to do whatever is conducive to the welfare of the governed," he said. In late 19th-century America, Richard T. Ely, an institutional economist, denounced laissez-faire as "unsafe in politics and unsound in morals."

The notion that the "general welfare" lies in government intervention in the economic and moral lives of citizens remains a common one. Conservatives such as George Will and Irving Kristol look to the state as soul crafter as well as the provider of an economic safety net, while socialists such as Michael Harrington find in the Constitution's welfare clause the justification for income redistribution. The

welfare state—the largely government-regulated system of production, allocation, and distribution of society's resources, aimed at a balance between political liberty and well-being for all—is believed by many to be what the Framers wanted for our country.

But does the welfare clause in the Preamble really suggest that the American political system was meant to be a welfare state? Those giving an affirmative answer are certainly right to this extent: the Framers did want the Constitution to enable us all to prosper. By "the general welfare," they meant the conditions that are a general—as distinct from diverse or specialized—requirement for people's well-being. And they specifically guarded against including in the Constitution the innumerable special-interest objectives the modern welfare state is designed to serve. (For more, see Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution*, 1986.)

Given the full context of the Preamble it

is clear that the Framers believed that protecting individual rights is just what is required to promote the general welfare. Individual rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the standard of justice. And these rights are not to be found in an interventionist, paternalist, redistributionist welfare state.

This libertarian reading of the American founding has fallen into disrepute, because of the rejection of a certain conception of human life. That conception holds that human beings—if left free, if dealt with justly, if not faced with constant conflicts and wars—will proceed most effectively to promote their own individual or special welfare. And this individual pursuit of happiness will lead to mutual prosperity.

Here we have the insight of Adam Smith and all those political economists—from either the natural-law or the utilitarian traditions—who see an intimate tie between liberty and prosperity. What only a few saw, among them the poet John Milton, is that the same connection exists between liberty and virtue.

Why is there so little confidence in the idea that virtue and liberty are intertwined? The explanation for it lies in an element of modern philosophy.

When religion still had a hold on intellectuals and the ancient Greek vision of human nature could still command some respect, the idea that free men and women should live right made sense. The Greeks held that human beings can act purposively. Aristotle, for example, explained that the morally virtuous life has to be chosen by the person—prudence or generosity, for example, is a virtue only if the person elects it, not if he or she is forced to conform to it.

And while the Greeks were not radical individualists, they did consider it most important that a human community make the morally virtuous life possible. It remained for later thinkers to suggest that one crucial requirement for this is limiting the power of government.

The Greek view was improved upon, accordingly, with the development of the idea of the liberal polity. If people are to live properly, then they need a substantial sphere of individual responsibility. By the 14th century, William of Ockham characterized property rights as "the power to conform to right reason." John Locke, in the 17th century, went even further with his doctrine of natural individual rights, from which the Founders drew in the Declaration of Independence.

The crux of the thesis that emerged is that people can make the most of their lives if they are are not subjugated to the intrusive, meddling powers of others, including the state—if "laissez-faire, laissez-passer" is honored. They will flourish on their own, by their own initiative. Therefore, lack of this kind of freedom, of "negative liberty," is the major obstacle to progress on all the fronts of human life, even in helping the poor and the sick.

So, eliminate wars, settle disputes by respecting justice (that is, individual rights), defend the community, and secure liberty. This will promote general welfare—the welfare of all as members of the public. There is no need under these conditions for government to become paternalistic. Individuals themselves will have ample opportunity to promote their own diverse welfare, by doing well at living their lives.

Throughout the last two centuries, however, this idea of the basic capacity for individual initiative was abandoned at the metaphysical level. Human nature was reconceived along more passive lines, even while political thought was still shaped by the earlier view. The new idea that emerged—at the hands of those who admired the achievements of mechanistic science—is that the forces of nature made us as we are. Some of us then ended up lacking in basic necessities or talents, while others were more fortunate. The most efficient way to remedy this situation seemed to be a forceful welfare state that evened up the discrepancies.

In earlier times, personal initiative had been assumed. It made the idea of private, voluntary progress sensible. That accounted for the initial libertarian features of liberalism. But once personal initiative became incongruous, because it appeared to conflict with the reigning mechanistic science, the kind of liberalism that was meant to accommodate it fell into disrepute. Instead, liberalism began to mean setting people free of their hardship by the force of the state. (It is just this that is meant by Marxist "liberation.")

Subsequently, the idea gained respect that society is a team. And members of the team possess different talents, circumstances, and assets, with each equally helpless in the face of his or her lot.

This concept suggested a new idea of justice, namely, fairness. We are all on the same team, yet some of us are better off than others. That is unfair. No one could do anything to deserve his or her lot, so why should anyone be better off than someone else? It is just a matter of bad luck or good luck, nothing more. The most prominent book in political philosophy in our time, John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (Harvard, 1971), gives extensive expression to this popular notion.

From this idea, the welfare-statist egalitarian impulse is but a few steps away. We must, as a society, do everything we can about this unfairness—it's a matter of social justice—even if chances of rectifying matters are minimal and seeking such rectification could produce greater and greater poverty. It is our duty as a society to try.

Abandoning the idea of individual initiative is, however, tragically mistaken. First, society is not really a team. *Pace* Karl Marx, who wrote that "the human essence is the true collectivity of man," we are all essentially individual human beings. We do have roughly the same capacity to set out on our journeys, whatever our starting points. But how well we will do is ultimately up to us—provided we are left to our own resources. What really counts most is not fairness but liberty. The team is a wrong and destructive analogy. A friendly marathon race, perhaps, or carnival, would do much better.

Accordingly, a better conception than John Rawls's theory of "justice as fairness" is that of "justice as liberty." The central feature of political justice is to acknowledge everyone's sovereignty, whether he or she be humble or great, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, healthy or ill. On the whole all we need from politics—from the power of legalized force—is to secure justice. Once this is achieved, prosperity will usually be taken care of by free people. And they will do so better than administrators of justice who "help" some at the expense of others.

To those who still hang on to the scientistic idea of classical mechanics, we must say, Relax! Nothing in science precludes the idea that we can cause much of our own behavior and that we are responsible for how well or ill we do in life. In the complex universe we now know, self-determination is indeed possible. (For more on this, see Roger W. Sperry, *Science and Moral Priority*, 1983.) Normally,

persons are their own agents and thus responsible to face up to the challenges of their lives.

What's more, this idea is closer to what the Framers had in mind and makes better sense. The power to initiate action is well entrenched as a quintessential human characteristic.

Given the logic and context of the founding of the American republic, the welfare clause in the Preamble suggests that we are all to strive to promote our individual well-being and government is to promote the conditions in which that is possible—preserve justice, tranquillity, the common defense, and liberty for all.

In time, perhaps, enough men and women will realize the merit of this radical outlook. They may come to see that not only can our diverse welfare be promoted better by free individuals, but so can the general welfare. They may also come to appreciate the fact that it is indeed a noble and moral responsibility of everyone to make his or her contribution primary, relying on the charity of others only in emergency cases and only when the help is freely given.

Despite notions to the contrary—even by some friends of freedom—ideas do have some consequences. I nominate for an idea that could have some of the best consequences the self-determining power of individual human beings. We can and ought to flourish in life. But only by seeing ourselves as mostly capable, potent creatures rather than wards of the elect will we achieve that goal. ☐

Senior Editor Tibor R. Machan teaches philosophy at Auburn University and is the author of Human Rights and Human Liberties.

SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY

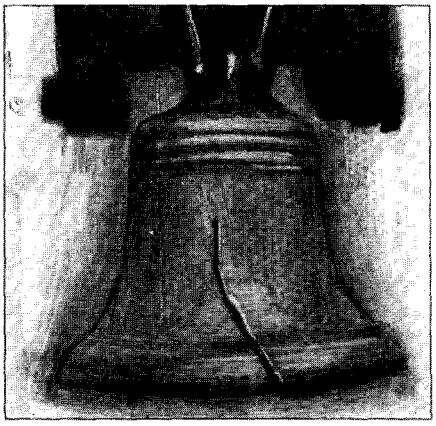
by LOREN LOMASKY

Constitution making is serious business. It is doubtful the Framers would have attended more carefully to their task had they known that 200 years hence their efforts would be immortalized in fireworks displays and cereal boxes. The prospect of building a nation is reason enough to consider with full deliberation each clause, indeed every word. So it is sound policy to assume that what was said was meant to be said, and meant to be said in just that way in which it appears.

If that is right, the Preamble to our Constitution presents no less than a philosophical puzzle. The Constitution, it tells us, aims to achieve union, justice, tranquillity, defense, welfare, and the blessings of liberty. But why *blessings of liberty*, and not *liberty* itself? The other intended constitutional products travel solo, but liberty is married to its blessings. Why should that be? In what way is liberty deemed to be special?

The special treatment does not represent unalloyed praise of liberty. I do not believe that I am reading too much into the text when I see it as issuing a cautionary note. The Framers thereby provide a suggestion, possibly even an insistence, that the value of liberty is not unconditional.

In that respect it is unlike the other political goods cited. *Justice* can stand by



itself; a regime that is just is necessarily and intrinsically superior, all else equal, to one that lacks justice. The same, presumably, can be said on behalf of one that enjoys tranquillity, that is able to defend itself, or that bestows general welfare. But liberty is not self-validating. It is rather to be cherished in virtue of its fruits, but only insofar as these are genuinely *blessings*. They can, the Preamble implies, turn out to be otherwise.

Whatever else liberty may be, it necessarily entails the absence of certain constraints. The constraints in question may be ones inimical to the flowering of cherished human aspirations, but they can also turn out to be requisite for the preservation of valued structures within which those aspirations flourish.

This double-edged character is nicely captured by that most philosophical of languages, classical Greek, in which the verb that means "to set free" can also have the sense "to destroy." The Framers were practical men, but they were also graced with philosophical temperaments. They understood this polarity well. Today our language gives us hardly a clue of it, perhaps only in the Orwellian term "wars of national liberation."

If liberty can prove so dangerous, then on what basis could its blessings have been so forthrightly affirmed? Precisely, I suggest, from that which makes liberty a risky proposition: its open-endedness.

If I'm free to follow in the path of the angels, then I'm also at liberty to dally with devils. The theological allusion may seem like innocuous metaphorical fancy. It was something more in 1787.

The two centuries that preceded the foundation of the American republic witnessed European wars bloodier than that continent had known before, wars in which Catholics merrily dispatched Protestants to their maker and Protestants eagerly returned the favor, all for His greater glory. "Error has no rights!" was the standing order under which armies marched. Rights it may not have had, but

error did have its own armies. An outcome of the clashes between Truth and the Lie—however they were represented on one's personal scorecard—was a measure of religious toleration, but less out of philosophical conviction than from the exhaustion of stalemate.

From its beginning the United States was different, not entirely and in every respect, but different nonetheless. For America, like liberty, was open-ended.

Thirteen newly minted states perched on the Atlantic seaboard gazed out over a continent that stretched almost without limit to an uncharted west. Human possibilities were freed from the bonds that shackled Europeans' prospects. That is why, of course, so many came. Ownership of property and the concomitant opportunity for independence were available to those willing to gamble on their own courage and determination and luck. Not every such gamble was won, but the liberty to chance success or failure went with the geography.

Equally important was the continent's historical openness. If the new nation was genuinely to become a nation, it would be via its own wit and resolve. Nothing was given, at least not absolutely and unalterably so. There was neither nobility nor clerical order vested from time immemorial with exclusive authority to rule or to preach. Established political structures had been sundered by revolution, and their replacement would necessarily have to look to the future rather than passively take their cue from the past.

The United States, unlike the individual states, strictly speaking had no history. Invention of a history-to-be was why 55 men sweltered through a Philadelphia summer. They doubtlessly realized that there could be no more striking and momentous an exercise of liberty than the creation *ex nihilo* of a nation.

A constitution well made would indeed be a blessing to its framers and to their posterity. There was, though, no assurance that the result would be successful. No such thing had been done before. Old myths depicted the construction of nations as a job for gods or men who communed with gods. The Framers labored under no illusion of divinity. They knew they were men, fallible men, and none claimed to have participated in a summit conference at Mt. Sinai. Nonetheless, they persevered. Each state was protective of its own prerogatives and institutions. The document that resulted was the product of compromises including, most notoriously, the infamous "three-fifths" clause.

That the Constitution was born imperfect is no discovery that awaited the development of exquisitely progressive 20th-century sensibilities; those leaving Philadelphia knew it well enough. Theirs was the hope that liberty would be generous with its blessings; perfection was entirely out of the question.

Indeed, our recent celebration of 200 years of constitutional governance may owe much to the fact that it was the openness of liberty rather than some ideal of perfection that guided the Framers. Most subsequent exercises in regime making have been conspicuously less successful despite the existence of the United States as a potential model for emulation. France's rule of the virtuous was immediately overtaken by the reign of terror; new Soviet man was killed by the tens of millions in Siberia, the Ukraine, and elsewhere to satisfy the stern stricture of the prophet Marx. From Ethiopia to Iran, the carnage continues. Better, we may reflect, to offer a cautious welcome to the blessings that liberty *may* afford than to lavish enthusiasm on the millennium spied lurching around the historical corner.

Better also to realize that liberty is a *starting point* for achievement and not its fully realized outcome. Merely to prize liberty is insufficient; without a lively conception of the gulf that separates its potential blessings from the curses that beset the unwary or unfortunate, liberal inclinations surrender their moral content. It is incoherent to suppose that freedom matters a great deal but that how people choose to use their freedom is immaterial. An equivalent but opposite incoherence is to conclude that because the consequences of individuals' choices can and do prove momentous, choice should be taken out of their hands. The Framers avoided both errors. We owe them some credit for that. ◻

Loren Lomasky teaches philosophy at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, and is the author of Persons, Rights, and the Moral Community.

TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY

by CHARLES MURRAY

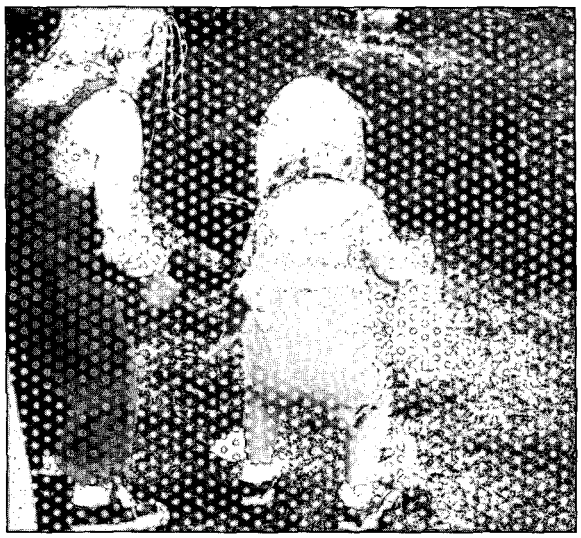
A false premise prevails in the latter half of this century, one that will seem as naive to our grandchildren as the Victorians' confidence in the permanency of empire now seems to us: that democracy is a stable form of government. It is as if we need worry only about how well we are making democracy serve whatever policies are in vogue, not whether democracy itself will continue to survive. Thus when I recently suggested before an audience that I thought my children would probably live to see the end of American democracy, the reaction was not so much "Why do you think that?" as "Don't be silly."

The Framers knew better. They examined history as carefully as they studied political theory, and the signal lesson they drew from history is that Democracies Don't Last. They don't because of faction—citizens "who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens," in Madison's words. It was not theory, the Framers observed, but a statement of fact: if factions are per-

mitted to work their will on the polity, they destroy first liberty and then democracy itself—invariably.

So the Framers prepared a Constitution that arrayed all the structures of government against the effects of factions, by substituting representative democracy for direct democracy, by dividing power within the government, and above all by radically restricting the things that the central government was permitted to do. And thereby they hoped to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.

People engaged in the business of policy analysis have largely forgotten that the design of the Constitution was driven by fear for democracy's survival, not hope for its achievements. There are a few exceptions to the forgetfulness, thankfully, especially in the scholars of the "public choice" school. But in all the effusion of talk about the Constitution during the bicentennial year just past, in all the self-congratulatory talk about the success of "checks and balances" and "the living document," I cannot recall hearing this ultimately simple message: If the Framers were right in their reading of history and human nature, we cannot go about democracy the way that the United States (and every other Western democracy) has been doing it recently—not just should not but can not, if we want democracy to last much longer.



Most of contemporary policy is based on the assumption that the Framers were wrong. It is believed, apparently by a very large majority of people in every modern democracy, that humans can act collectively with far more latitude than the Framers believed: If humans seek a more even distribution of resources, they may achieve it by using government to take money from one set of people and giving it to another. If humans want an end to racial inequality or sexual inequality, it is within their grasp to have it; all they have to do is pass the right laws. The world can be made constantly fairer if human beings use the instruments of government to reduce unfairnesses.

If the Framers were wrong, we may continue to be optimistic in the face of failures and the ubiquitous "unintended outcomes" that have followed such policies; we may assume that the proper response is to try again with another and better political solution. Most importantly, if the Framers were wrong, then we may assume that this expansive use of a centralized government can continue over the long run, because men have it in them after all to use the power of the state to do good.

If, on the other hand, the Framers were right, then we are already in big trouble. Democracies, they told us, begin to degrade when a faction is able to use the state to impose its vision of the good on the rest of society. And a relentless use of the state in just that fashion—to determine what is the majority faction, then permit that faction to impose its vision of the good on everyone—is the essence of contemporary policy.

That the contending factions are intent on using the state is not new. What is new is that so many now think that democracy can survive the success of a majority faction, that a majority faction is not dangerous as long as its causes are good. The left and the right struggle over whose vision of the good the government will enact. The only way to preserve democracy is to ensure that visions of the good cannot be enacted.

Here is where I ought to offer my solution, but I am deeply pessimistic and have none in which I place confidence. I do not see how to put the genie back in the bottle, how to restore old limits and say, "This time, let's not fool with them." But we have to try.

In that spirit, let me suggest that we resurrect another of the Framers' neglected insights: To preserve liberty, it is much more important that the *central* government be strictly limited than that *all* government be strictly limited. If the citizens of Bridgeport pass a bad law, that's too bad, but it is fairly easy to move out of Bridgeport, and a marketplace of governments that must compete for taxpayers restrains government's worst features. When Washington, D.C., passes a bad law, there's no recourse and no competition. I raise this point partly because of my own attraction to the virtues of community as well as to the freedom of individuals, but also as a practical matter. I sympathize with those who argue that governments at all levels ought to be limited for reasons of principle. But they will never convince a popular majority to go along with them. It seems increasingly clear that in ordinary situations most people prefer to live in extensive states.

Assuming that to be true (I will not try to prove the point here), then the only hope for sustaining democracy and the considerable level of freedom that citizens of the United States still enjoy is to make the case for tolerating diversity. For while most people prefer extensive states for themselves, I think most people—or at least most Americans—can still be persuaded that national uniformity is not necessary. It just might be possible to put together a majority of voters who believe that people should be free to live according to their beliefs, which means that people should be free to form communities as they see fit within a few overarching constraints—a majority who will agree, as it were, to take seriously once more the Ninth and Tenth amendments.

In seeking to restore that pragmatic outlook that underlay the original Constitution—restricting the national government above all and leaving considerable latitude to the lower levels of government—lies the best chance for mobilizing a majority and in the process securing the blessings of liberty to our own posterity. ◻

Charles Murray is the author of Losing Ground. *His new book,* In Pursuit, *will be published this fall by Simon & Schuster.*

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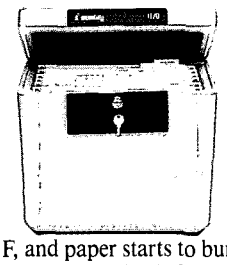

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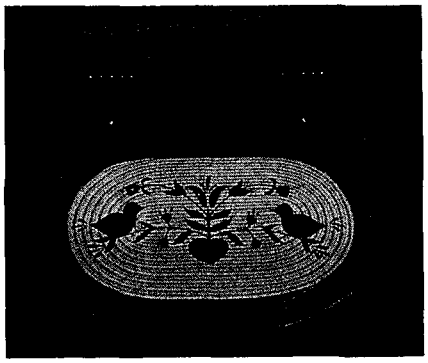

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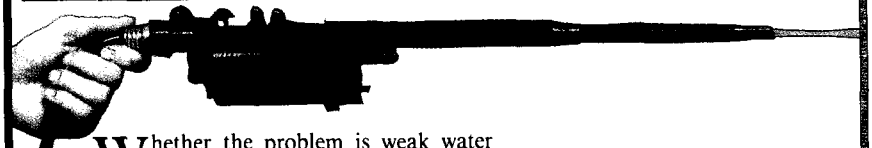
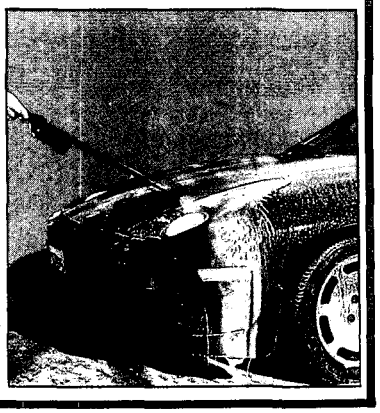
TURBO-WASH™ — FOR A POWER CLEANING TRIP



Whether the problem is weak water pressure or weak resolve to tackle that awesome cleaning job, Turbo-Wash transforms a garden hose into a dynamic 1000 psi stream that does the job for you, and the result is a dirt-cutting blade of water and suds that cleans everything from cars to boats, outdoor furniture, patios, even the entire house exterior. ABS plastic with fingertip controls, 3-adjustable spray tips with soap/water ratio control, 2-32 oz. bottles of biodegradable Soft-Suds that won't harm shrubbery or grass. You also receive 32 oz. bottle of Hard-Suds and a 32 oz. bottle of wax. These are all included in this special mail order package. **$30.00** ($4.95) #A1750.



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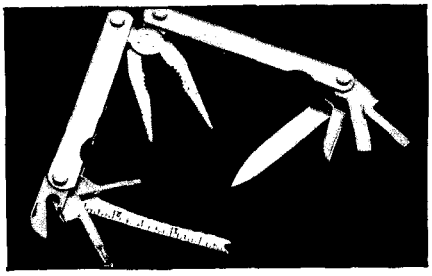

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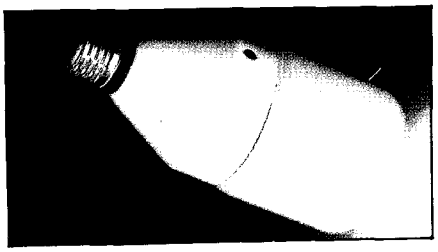
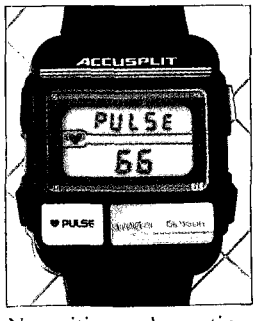


PULSE WATCH



During or after running, aerobics or any exercise, being able to check pulse rates, instantaneously, is a major convenience. Just press one button on this LCD watch and read the rate. No waiting and counting, no chest strap or gadget to fool with. It's also a watch with regular or "military time" readout plus wake-up alarm, and a stopwatch with split timing. Water resistant; band fits men or women; Seiko movement with one-year limited warranty takes easily-replaced lithium coin cell battery. **$95.00** ($4.95) #A1747X.

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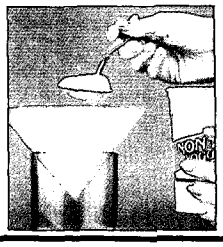
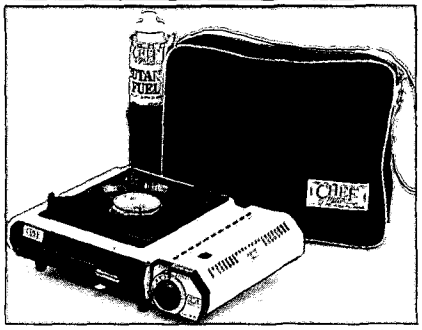
In less than a minute, you can make the newest, healthiest, most economical spread—just spoon plain yougurt into this woven plastic funnel, place in the frig, (atop any container to catch the whey). In 8-14 hours you have *really creamy* cheese. Using 1½% milkfat yogurt, it has 90% less fat, ⅔ less calories but over twice the calcium of commercial cream cheese. Yet most people (including some avowed yogurt-haters we know) can't tell the difference! Use the recipe booklet included—or substitute for cream cheese, mayonnaise or sour cream in your favorite recipes. Funnel holds up to 16 oz.; makes about 8oz. of yogurt cheese. Our set provides 2 funnels, so you'll have enough for the lemon cheesecake shown above — scrumptious and a mere 125 calories per serving. **$15.00** ($2.95) #A1733X.



CIVILIZED COOKING WITH CHEF MATE



This very portable butane stove weighs just 6 pounds and comes in its own fabric carrying case with shoulder strap and side pocket for fuel. Chef Mate utilizes easy-loading butane canisters and makes an instant campfire — no waiting, no struggling with damp wood. The compact size (15¼″ x 12¼″ x 5½″) makes it ideal for boats and tailgate parties; in the backyard, this stove plus your grill means you can cook an entire meal outside; indoors, it's great for buffet entertaining and invaluable in a power failure. High heat output (7000BTU's per hour), full-range heat control (simmer to full boil) and easy-clean porcelain finish. Chef Mate, **$54.98** ($6.00)#A1811; Three Butane Canisters, **$10.98** ($3.00) #A1812.

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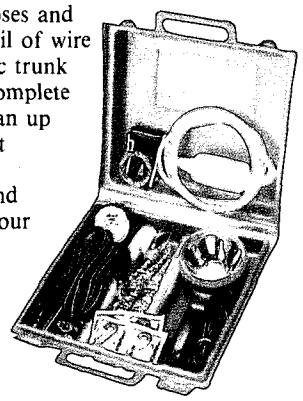
A compact carrying case of polyethylene with snap lock comes complete with the most-wanted emergency aids. First, an up-to-date battery charger that plugs into another car's cigarette lighter — easier and safer than the old jump start cables. There's a powerful 12-V spotlight with lighter plug and red reflector, plus two 15-minute safety flares (approved in 50 states) — plus a 24″-sq. distress flag. A tank-to-tank gas siphon pump, a 6-qt. bag for carrying water, a roll of plastic tape for emergency repair of hoses and wiring, a coil of wire and 4 elastic trunk tie-downs complete the kit. Clean up with a moist towelette (4 provided) and you're on your way. 11¾″ sq., **$21.98**, ($4.00) #A1826X.



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Blind Brite® presents a system for maximizing blind cleaning, minimizing effort. Redesigned tool has a patented trigger handle that squeezes five louvers to clean top and bottom. Spray plush rollers with the specially fabricated fluid; it acts as an anti-static agent, so blinds stay dust-free longer, and is safe for vinyl and aluminum. Rollers can be rinsed clean. Kit includes tool and two 16-oz. pump spray bottles. **$10.98**, ($2.50) #A1817.

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THINGS ARE A LOT GROOVIER NOW

BY ROBERT W. POOLE, JR.

It was 20 years ago today
Sgt. Pepper taught his band to play.

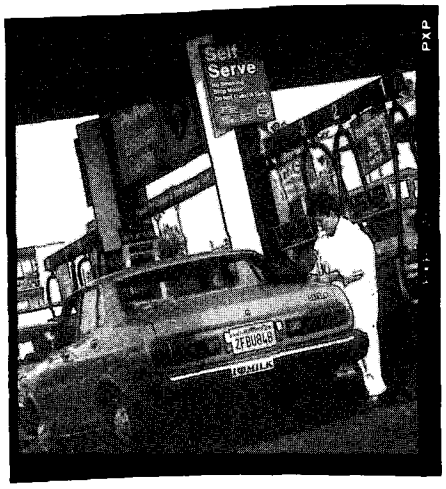
The year of REASON's founding was a year of violence. It was the height of the Vietnam war, the war that defeated Lyndon Johnson. That summer Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, stamping out the *glasnost* and *perestroika* of Alexander Dubček. Both Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were cut down by assassins' bullets. Across the country, students protested the war and were often attacked by the police, most notably during demonstrations outside the Democratic Party convention in Mayor Daley's Chicago. On some campuses, student radicals called strikes and occupied campus administration buildings, protesting not just the war but the "system"—the university, government, capitalism, whatever.

It was the campus violence, in particular, that motivated a Boston University journalism student named Lanny Friedlander to create a mimeographed little magazine. Inspired by the writings of novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand and seeking to uphold the standards of learning and rationality proper to a university—and the freedom of thought and action on which they are based—he called the publication REASON. Rather than simply criticizing the actions of SDS and its allies, he took aim at their *principles*. While opposing the war and the draft and the corporate state, REASON raised the banner of individualism in opposition to SDS collectivism, of free markets in opposition to SDS socialism. Neither left-wing nor right-wing, REASON was, presciently, libertarian.

What a difference 20 years makes, even in the everyday accouterments of life. In 1968 you could still get in trouble for hooking up a "foreign attachment"—like an answering machine or a designer extension—to your phone line. There was, of course, only one long-distance telephone company, and if you didn't like what Ma Bell provided, tough. Believe it or not, cable TV was banned in the largest 200 cities (to "protect" broadcast TV, of course). And if you had a package that had to be somewhere by the next day, uh, forget it.

Self-service gas stations were illegal in most places (fire hazard, you know). The typical car got about 12 miles per gallon and was made in Detroit. It had sloppy steering, soft suspension, and bias-ply tires that wore out after 12,000 miles. Sure, there were a lot of little VW beetles around, and a few of those funny-looking little Toyotas and Datsuns—but mostly in weirdo California. Hondas were motorbikes ("You meet the nicest people on a Honda"), not yuppie sedans. And BMWs were nowhere to be found.

If you wanted cash, you had to go to a branch of your bank (between 10:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M. on weekdays) and stand in line for a teller; no 24-hour ATMs on the street corner. (And if you were in another state, forget about getting cash, Charlie.) Unless you had $10,000 to purchase T-bills, the most you could earn on your savings was 5 percent or so in a savings account; money-market funds hadn't been invented yet, and banks



were forbidden to offer higher rates on CDs.

To travel long distance, you could choose between two (or sometimes three) airlines. You asked your travel agent what the price was—not what discount fares were available but simply *the* price, the one set by the government. The roundtrip coach fare from New York to Los Angeles was $948 in today's dollars.

Numerous personal freedoms that we take for granted were very tenuous in 1968. Unmarried couples staying in hotels had to pretend they were married—sex between consenting adults was still illegal in numerous states. In many states, including Massachusetts, you could get arrested for displaying contraceptives or advocating their use. Condoms were kept beneath the counter in drugstores, not advertised on billboards.

Erotic films were just beginning to be tolerated in polite society, helped along by the introduction of the movie rating system. But there was nothing like today's VCR/videocassette smorgasbord. Homosexuals were known to exist but were not discussed in public. Most of them lived in fear of exposure, harassment, and the loss of their jobs.

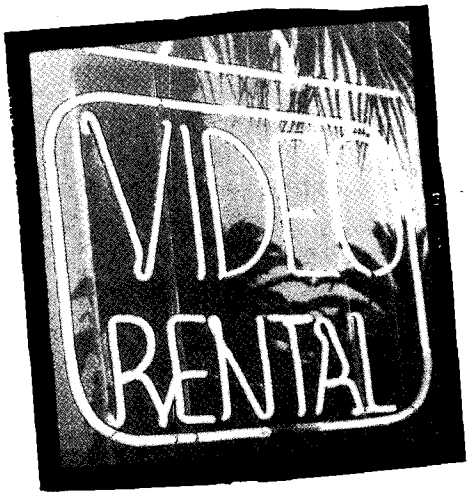
The revolution in women's roles was only just beginning in 1968. Women still constituted only a few percent of the students majoring in engineering, law, business, and medicine. The sexual double standard prevailed, though the Pill would soon put women on a more equal footing with men.

Hanging over the life of every young man was the specter of the draft. It's difficult to convey the extent to which one's local draft board was feared for its life-and-death power.

The maximum rate of income tax was 70 percent, compared with 28 percent now; and the IRS was no less fearsome than it is today. It was illegal to own gold—that's right, illegal.

If you were a doctor or a lawyer in 1968, it was illegal for you to advertise. There were no such things as legal clinics or prepaid legal services or doc-in-a-box storefront clinics or HMOs. Competing on price was not only "unethical" in these professions; it was grounds for legal action.

Internationally, pundits told us that the



real threat was no longer the Soviet Union. No, the real danger was the Red Chinese; the movie version of Ian Fleming's *Goldfinger* was altered from the book to make the ultimate villain a Chicom, and subsequent Bond films dropped all mention of SMERSH, the Soviet terror organization that had been a key player in many of the books. Whether Soviet or Chinese, the march of communism seemed to many to be inevitable. The idea of *mujaheddin* going up against the Soviet army or of anti-Soviet freedom fighters in Angola was unthinkable.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara by 1968 had won the battle to make "mutual assured destruction" the basis of U.S. strategic policy, purposely dismantling this country's air defenses and forswearing defenses against ballistic missiles. Thus began 20 years with no defense but the threat of Armageddon.

In Europe, socialism was the dominant philosophy of government. Britain's Labour and Conservative parties alternated in power, with the Tories presiding over each new plateau of nationalized industries and the welfare state. The idea of "privatizing" state enterprises, especially utilities such as airports and telecoms, was unimaginable.

The idea of the Third World as an undifferentiated mass of underdeveloped countries, made poor by colonial exploitation, was the received wisdom, not just at the United Nations (which was still respected) but among most educated people. Taiwan, South Korea, and the other tigers of Southeast Asia were still poor; to have forecast that Hyundai would by 1988 be the best-selling import car would have marked one as loony.

To be sure, some things have gotten worse in the past 20 years. The federal government now consumes 25 percent of GNP instead of 21 percent. Social Security taxes have doubled. New regulatory agencies (OSHA, CPSC, EPA, EEOC) and new bureaucracies (both DOEs) have grown up among us. Rent control has made a comeback in some cities, and land-use controls have assumed dangerous proportions.

But the past 20 years have witnessed some profound gains for human freedom, thanks to the power of ideas and the liberating influence of new technologies. The next time a doom-and-gloom friend starts telling you how the world is going to hell in a handbasket, ask him if he'd really prefer the violent, constrained world of 1968. If so, he deserves it. ◻

Robert W. Poole, Jr., one of the partners who published REASON from 1971 to 1978, is now publisher of REASON and president of the Reason Foundation.

THE '80s WILL BE REMEMBERED...

Stephen Vizinczey

...as the decade in which we all grew older. This is about the only memory we will all share; the rest will depend on who watched what on video. Since the arts and political discourse, not to mention the educational system, are reduced by and large to entertainment, aimed chiefly to make people *feel good*, we have regressed toward the Middle Ages—that is, back to a radical division between a small educated class obsessed with ideology and a huge majority who are not only ignorant but have such a tenuous grip on reality that they believe the stars foretell their day and are bewitched by actresses who lecture about their experiences as prostitutes in ancient Egypt. All of which is bad news for shared memories of history. Perhaps the collapse of share prices and the promised economic downturn will be remembered as the beginning of a return to civilization. Less busy shopping, people may find time to think, read, locate America on the map, study history—amusements that cost very little.

In the meantime, some will remember the '80s for clean living inspired by AIDS; for Chernobyl, which demonstrated that it doesn't matter who drops the Bomb on whom, the wind will take it around to everybody; and for the Reagan-Gorbachev treaty, influenced by the growing realization that air currents are the ultimate deterrents.

Stephen Vizinczey is the author of In Praise of Older Women *and* Truth and Lies in Literature. *A chapter from his novel* An Innocent Millionaire *appeared in the May 1987* REASON.

Eric Mack

...for the paradoxical combination of the collapse of the socialist idea throughout the communist and Third worlds and even among Western intellectuals and the discrediting of free-market ideals in the West. In the '80s, the true historical function of the Chinese Marxist revolution became clear—destruction of the millennia-old feudal impediments to capitalist development. The decision in the Soviet Union genuinely to compete economically with the West and with the surging capitalist economies of the Far East forced radical economic liberalization and rehabilitation of the previously forgotten Russian economist Adamsky Smithovich. (Twenty years later, the Lenin Peace Prize was awarded posthumously to the great Russian atheist, materialist, and antifascist Ayn Rand.) And the last "Marxist" intellectual who maintained that Marx favored either a centrally planned economy or a forced egalitarianism was expelled from the American Society of Socialists.

In the '80s, due to the convincing rhetoric of Ronald Reagan, almost all Americans came to understand that free enterprise meant massive federal debt, payrolls, and taxes; social and economic stagnation; and the triumph of the aristocracy of pull. Believing in neither the old socialism nor the new free enterprise, the electorate turned increasingly to prayer—and overwhelmingly elected the ticket of Jackson and Robertson.

Eric Mack teaches philosophy at Tulane University.

ILLUSTRATIONS • CHARLES PEALE

BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

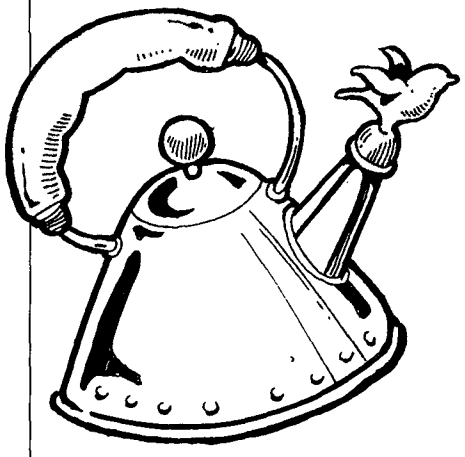
David Brudnoy

...for the near-complete breakdown of civility and the libertarian impulse within the conservative movement. What had once been a genteel and thoughtful amalgam of traditionalist and libertarian elements became—in the hands of the manipulators surrounding the president and in the rhetoric and pamphleteering of the operators who took for granted their benediction from what they imagine is their God—a bitter and vicious thing. Conservatism, in power in the White House and at many of the significant agencies, demonstrated a sanctimoniousness and self-satisfied arrogance that resembled the behavior of liberalism rampant in earlier years.

Libertarianism demonstrated that as a political force it is to all extents meaningless except when somebody can bankroll a presidential or other race: such was the case in 1980. By 1984 the Libertarian Party ticket made about as much headway as the Vegetarian. As a confluence of ideas, libertarianism showed some energy in the '80s, though the American tendency to ride with the red-hot conservatives or the retrograde liberals or the primitive populists showed how insubstantially had libertarianism dented the public consciousness.

Ollie North and Eddie Murphy became '80s heroes, which just about says it all.

Contributing Editor David Brudnoy is a radio talk show host and film critic in Boston.



Laura Main

Before we had a chance to breathe a collective sigh of relief after a decade of polyester, discos, and unabashed promiscuity, the '80s lifestyle was upon us. The first hint of our future arrived in the *Preppie Handbook*—the hottest item to hit college campuses since marijuana. The book espoused a preference for pearls (real ones, of course) over plastic baubles, cotton (read pricey) over nylon, leather furniture over crushed velvet. Fully loaded Buicks gave way to back-to-basics Mercedes and BMWs. "They cost a little more, but it's the *quality* that counts." Yeah, right.

The tacky '70s gave birth to the beautiful '80s and, in turn, to a demand for high-quality goods—preferably the kind that appreciate in value. Framed posters of wildlife flooded thrift stores and yard sales, while the desire for high art you could cart home in the back of the Volvo helped the new art superstars flourish. To create the appropriate surroundings for our newly found taste, a new breed of architecture superstars designed everything right down to the teapot on our commercial ranges. Bye, bye, Lady Kenmore.

The '80s will certainly be remembered for this rebirth of materialism, and we will remember just how much it cost. But if you ever have doubts about whether it was all worth it, just pull out a snapshot of yourself from 1975 and remind yourself of the words of the immortal Billy (Nando's Place) Crystal: "It's better to look good than to feel good."

Laura Main is REASON's art director.

Tim W. Ferguson

...for sense and nonsense. Nearly the whole world grew to recognize that markets foster prosperity. Pockets of political or tyrannical resistance were circumscribed. Tax rates mostly fell. Yet in the same decade, the welfare state entrenched itself where enterprise has brought wealth. Amassed public debt acted as somewhat of a check on new social transfers but didn't threaten the core middle-class entitlements that weight down the West. Only economic calamity looms as a caller of that intergenerational loan, and thanks to wonders of trade and commerce that largely escaped establishment eyes, such a calamity may *not* be just around the corner.

Arms were ever more a preoccupation of the nation-states, although here again the fiscal cinch was felt. A dissolving of post–World War II arrangements seemed finally in order, but the question of will to contest Soviet Leninism was unresolved throughout much of the free world. Here at home, technology and expanded means made life inexorably better for most, though it became gruesomely worse for individuals (and their offspring) who had made unfortunate choices about personal conduct and family responsibilities. The decade leaves libertarians with a particular challenge to work with cultural conservatives to repair that rending of our society's fabric.

Tim W. Ferguson is editorial features editor for the Wall Street Journal.

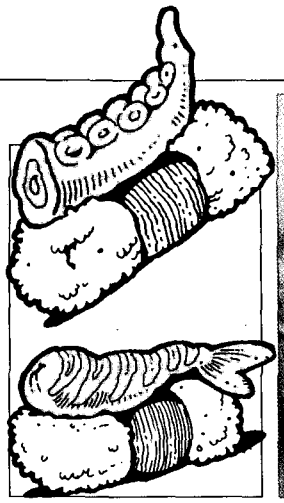
Joe Cobb

...for the creation of the U.S. troy ounce gold bullion coin and the silver ounce coin. First, in the greatest sense of "remembered," the bullion coins will be unearthed by archaeologists thousands of years from now, and they will figure out what "MCMLXXXVI" means.

Second, politicized paper money systems are inherently unstable, and we have seen recently that floating international exchange rates disrupt both capital and goods markets, so there is a good chance a new world monetary system will evolve, based on a tangible monetary base. If this occurs, of course, the troy ounce gold bullion coins are most likely, in my opinion, to form the new monetary base—and the "units of account" will be troy ounces of gold. So the '80s will be remembered in the next century and thereafter as the

beginning of the new international gold standard monetary system, transcending government-issued paper units.

Contributing Editor Joe Cobb is senior economist for the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress.



Tom Bethell

We don't know yet. When I came to the United States in the fall of 1962 "the '50s" were still heavily in progress. "The '60s" began, I would say, in 1965. "The '70s" began (let's say) with the fall of Saigon. In retrospect the '70s were a decade of increasing conservatism (election of Mrs. Thatcher and Ronald Reagan). I guess "the '80s" began in 1985, say with Reagan's second term. So far the decade has been characterized by a declining dollar and a renewed détente. Both, I suspect, will prove to be unreliable indicators. The events that in retrospect will define "the '80s" have not yet occurred and, on January 21, 1988, are not foreseeable. No doubt they will surprise us all.

Contributing Editor Tom Bethell is a media fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Lucy Braun

...for condoms...Just Say No...answering machines...aerobics, health clubs, triathlons, hard bodies, sweat...Oliver North... Safe Sex...yuppies...Madonna and Sean Penn...the Challenger exploding against a very blue sky...Tammy Bakker's eyelashes...Mary Beth Whitehead, test tube babies, women giving birth to their own grandchildren...John Lennon's death...the first black Miss America and the first to quit...frozen yogurt..."getting the government off our backs"...cheap airline tickets...Steven Spielberg and George Lucas ...Charles and Diana, Fergie and Andrew ...Michael Jackson's *Thriller*...AIDS... "I Want Your Sex"...Cuisinarts, microwaves...Ivan Boesky...nouvelle food, Thai food, diner food, sushi, blackened everything...crack...VCRs, CDs, PCs...homosexuals, intravenous drug users, Haitians...Nutrasweet...Band Aid, Live Aid, USA for Africa...Libya, Grenada, Chernobyl...MTV...Talking Heads, Springsteen, U-2, rap...Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, Cory Aquino...Esprit...the crash of '87...Gary Hart, Donna Rice..."The Cosby Show," "Family Ties," "Miami Vice," "Dynasty"...Rock Hudson...Men Who Won't Eat Quiche and the Women Who Love Them.

Assistant Managing Editor Lucy Braun likes lists.

Christie Hefner

...for being a time of private versus public interest for most Americans—a time of Reaganism, when rollbacks of programs such as AFDC, student loans, and funding for the handicapped coexisted with rollbacks of tax rates for corporations and wealthy individuals. It spawned yuppies, who, though few in number, were as important symbols of the times as hippies were of theirs.

College students listed making a lot of money as their primary goal. The energy for social change came not from the left but from the right. Yet even with an enormously popular president who was more hospitable than any recent president to the right wing's fundamentalist agenda, and with the power of televangelism, the progressive attitudinal changes of the '60s and early '70s were too entrenched to tolerate major changes in the laws affecting matters ranging from school prayer and gay rights to censorship and abortion. Moreover, due to the belated acknowledgment by the administration of the serious implications of AIDS, condoms finally came out of the closet.

As a sociopolitical decade, the '80s have ended. A reemphasis on public concerns and a more progressive political agenda will almost certainly follow.

Christie Hefner is president of Playboy Enterprises. An interview with her appeared in REASON's June 1986 issue.

David R. Henderson

...for dramatic reductions in the top marginal tax rates on personal income, not just in the United States but around the world. Ten years ago who would have dreamed that by 1988 the top rate here would have fallen from 70 to 28 percent? In 1971 I attended a conference at Columbia University that featured Milton Friedman. He was asked which government interventions he would like to see eliminated or reformed first. One was the income tax. Friedman said he would drop tax rates and make sure that the highest rate was no more than double the lowest. His wish came true: 28 is less than twice 15.

These low tax rates have a good shot at being permanent. Economists are concluding—and governments are slowly learning—that high rates reduce the tax base so much that they lead to lower revenues. And academic economists who write on optimal taxation, even those with a strong egalitarian bent, are concluding that the top rate should be somewhere between 20 and 40 percent.

Economics columnist David R. Henderson is a regular contributor to Fortune.

Warren Salomon

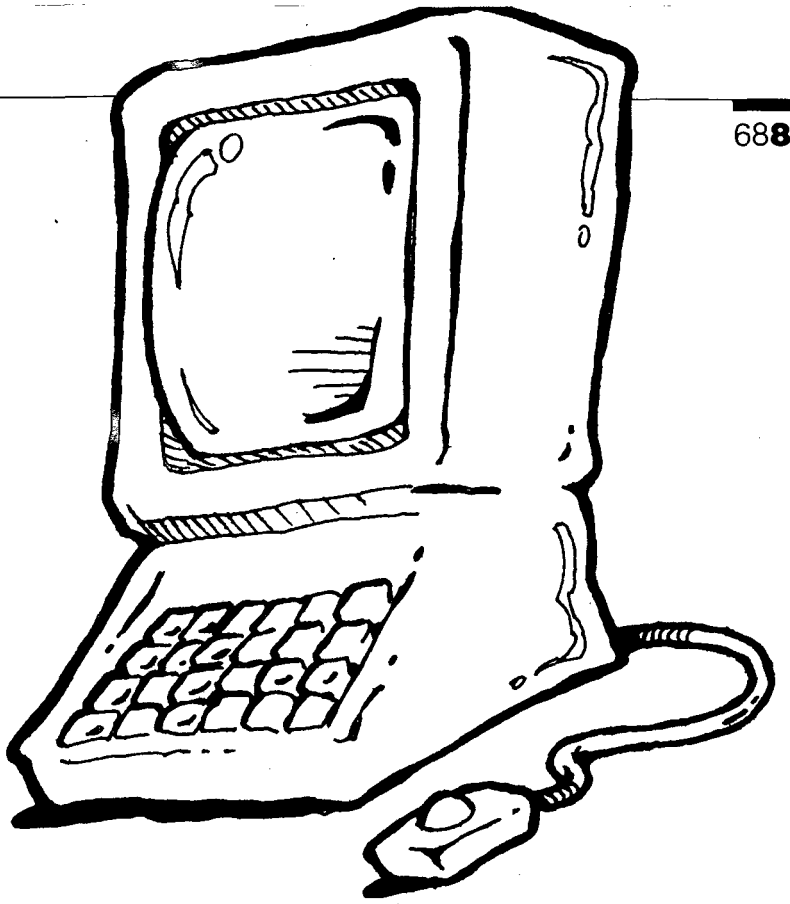
...for failure. The '80s were a typical Republican decade—benign, comfortable, and nonradical. They were pleasant years for most of us, with a popular two-term president who...er, presided over relative peace and prosperity, kept the social engineers at bay, and avoided wrenching social upheavals. For those reasons, the '80s seem misleadingly "good."

But Reagan's '80s, like Eisenhower's very similar '50s, will be seen in retrospect as a time of lost opportunity. Early in Reagan's first term, he might have repealed large portions of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society—as Margaret Thatcher rolled back socialism in Great Britain—but he didn't really try. (Similarly, Eisenhower might have been able to repeal the New Deal—but he didn't try either, leaving Social Security to fester through the decades.) Oh, Reagan said some fine things, and he managed to reduce our income taxes, but he could have done so much more had he dared.

America is a revolutionary country. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson, commenting on Shays' Rebellion, said: "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion....[W]hat country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time that this people preserve the spirit of resistance?...The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

The '80s were ripe for a genuine restoration of individual liberty, but Reagan blew it. And I guess we blew it too.

Contributing Editor Warren Salomon is an attorney and tax specialist in Miami.



Eric Martí

...for the personal computer revolution. From an installed base of 365,000 in 1979, the number of personal computers in the United States—in homes, in schools, and in the workplace—soared to 15 million in 1988. By 1990, that number is expected to grow to more than 26 million.

It was during the '80s that we started to become a computer-literate society and truly entered the Information Age. The implications extend far, from how we speak to what we teach our children. Back in '79, I don't think I ever had a casual conversation that contained the words *modem* or *megabyte*. But recently, in a long-distance phone call to an old friend, we spent a good 10 minutes going over the relative virtues of the Apple Macintosh and the IBM PC, as if we were discussing the latest car models.

The personal computer has made some of our lives easier, some harder, and others just more confused in adjusting to the new ways. It has transformed our society unlike any invention since the television. With television, we became a nation of vidiots. We are now, irrevocably, a nation of hackers.

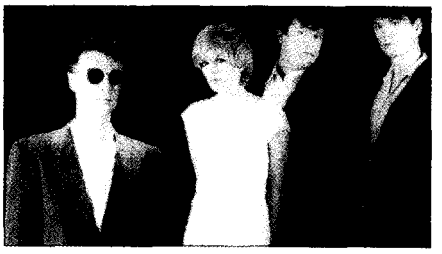
Former Managing Editor Eric Martí, who computerized REASON, is a student at Stanford Business School.

Erika Holzer

...for the greatest mirage in libertarian/conservative political history. Never have so many right-thinking men and women been promised so much and received so little. President Ronald Reagan, whatever his good intentions, did not, in the end, rise much above rhetoric. The less-(government)-is-more crowd who helped put him in office got to see little in the way of genuine privatization, decreased federal spending, or meaningful reduction in government manipulation of the economy.

His tough-on-communism supporters, who had thrilled to the sound of his "Evil Empire" theme, were to witness, with few exceptions, a shameful substitution of empty words for action—from his feeble response to the downing of the KAL airliner; to a human rights policy so hypocritical it permitted a Ukrainian seaman named Medvid to lose his desperate bid for freedom and be delivered to almost certain death, allowed the State Department to condone the massacre of Tibetan demonstrators by Red Chinese troops, and made excuses for the man in charge of ravaging Afghanistan; to the ultimate obscenity of his lovefest with the current head of a totalitarian regime that has no modern rivals in systematized persecution of dissenters, institutionalized slave labor, mass murder, and world conquest.

Erika Holzer is a novelist and lawyer who lives in Bedford, New York.



Stephen G. Barone

...demographically, as a milestone for the so-called baby boomers: the first decade during which their own generation almost entirely constituted the work force, as that of their parents had completely retired from it by 1990.

...politically, as a time during which libertarian ideas could no longer be poohpoohed away by the self-ordained intelli-

gentsia: although often disguised as conservatism, individualism no longer garnered big laughs at cocktail parties.

...economically, as the salad days for small investors: the first time during which the proletariat was able to participate in the financial markets in a big way, thanks largely to computer technology.

...musically, as the era during which rock & roll was liberated from the numbing excesses of '70s pop and disco: New Wave minimalism returned drums, bass, and synthesizers to the background tracks—where they belong.

...personally, as the decade during which I became less melancholy about choosing the social sciences instead of a more lucrative major: perhaps something involving animal mutilation or generally accepted accounting principles.

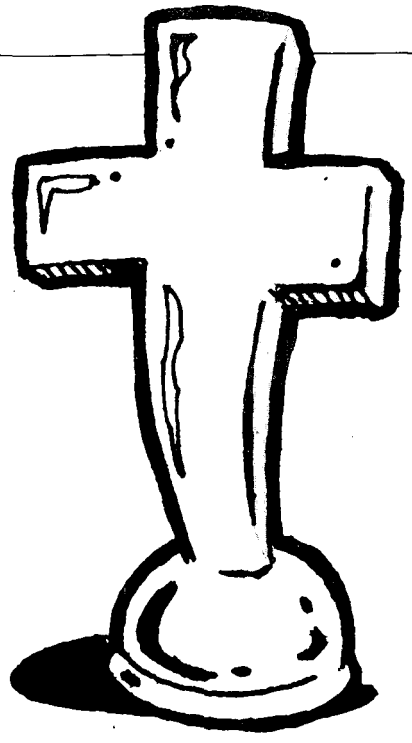
Stephen G. Barone is a children's psychologist and free-lance writer.

Timothy Condon

On the geopolitical stage, the decade will be fondly remembered as the beginning of the end for totalitarian communism, an ugly political leftover from a century that began in a mindless orgy of bloodshed and ignorance. For the first time, in Afghanistan, an indigenous people was able to resist and defeat a Communist invasion. And, again for the first time, a nation began to dismantle its own Communist system as a failed experiment: the implications of China's turn away from Communism in all but name can hardly be overstated, as the billion-strong people begin to take their place with the Asian economic powerhouses of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea.

Secondly, the '80s will be remembered for an explosion of scientific knowledge and technology such as the world has never before seen, led by computerization, biotechnology, and advances in medicine that could hardly be imagined a mere decade before. This trend, coupled with the turn toward capitalism and freedom in the Far East, could set the stage for a 21st century more enlightened and progressive than any the human species has ever experienced.

Contributing Editor Timothy Condon is a tax attorney.



Samuel L. Blumenfeld

...as a time of growing pessimism and uncertainty. The election of Ronald Reagan held out the great promise of putting the American dream back on track after our traumatic defeat in Vietnam. But the left will not let America forget its defeat. We must never be permitted to believe that our effort to save South Vietnam from communism was in any way justified.

In addition, the AIDS plague, growing illiteracy, disintegrating education, huge deficits, high consumer debt, our problems in Central America, our military disaster in Beirut, terrorism, hostage taking, space accidents, the farm depression, spy scandals, and the drug problem have just about convinced Americans that they are no longer the architects of their own future.

If it hadn't been for breathtaking advances in technology produced by capitalism, by entrepreneurs, and by the spirit of innovation, there would have been nothing visible to offset the climate of negativism. But glittering shopping malls, high-tech cars, jet travel, and Disney World cannot make up for spiritual misery.

The '80s will also be remembered for the revival of fundamentalist religious faith, a return to biblical principles by many Americans, the growth of home schooling, and the emergence of a new Calvinist intelligentsia within the heterogeneous conservative mix. These trends promise to upset many applecarts and make the '90s intellectually exciting.

Contributing Editor Samuel L. Blumenfeld is author of The New Illiterates.

John Blundell

...for the growth and growing success of free-market institutions the world over. Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* (1944) stoked the fire and his *Intellectuals and Socialism* (1949) set the strategic agenda. *Inter alia*, he enthused three people: Leonard Read, Antony Fisher, and F. A. "Baldy" Harper. Read started the Foundation for Economic Education (1946), Fisher the Institute of Economic Affairs (1957), and Harper the Institute for Humane Studies (1961). All three shared a deep concern for freedom; all took different tacks; all are heroes.

Read's FEE was the layman's high school for liberty. Fisher's IEA concentrated on Hayek's nonpejorative "second-hand dealers in ideas," such as teachers and journalists. And Harper's IHS set out to preserve and later expand the remnant of market scholars.

By the end of the '70s the success of IEA had led Fisher to become a full-time entrepreneur of pro-market think tanks. He today lists over 40 institutes in over 20 countries that he has helped through the Atlas Economic Research Foundation.

Three main trends stand out in the '80s. First is a solid growth in those institutes already in existence. Second is a surge of new institutes at the national level in the United States and abroad. And third is a still-developing wave of regional or state-wide institutes.

Suddenly in the '80s it's fashionable and feasible to promote free markets.

John Blundell is executive vice president of the Institute for Humane Studies.

F.A. Hayek

James Dale Davidson

If decades were neighborhoods, the '80s would be a place you wouldn't want your daughter to live, a low, mean cross between Disneyland and Port Said. It was a time of debt, deficits, and deceit—deceit of self and deceit of others. Politically, it was the decade of Ronald Reagan, Gary Hart, and the Continuing Resolution; religiously, the decade of Jim and Tammy Bakker; culturally, the decade of Steven Spielberg. Altogether, it was a decade of irresponsibility, amnesiac about the past and uncaring about the future.

The '80s offered the illusion of protracted adolescence for the predominant baby boom generation. As a group we flat-out refused to grow up. Everyone watched Spielberg movies about childish heroes in a childish world. We did not want to be reminded of adulthood by adult themes, so even the movies that came closest to speaking to those themes, like *Breaking Away* or *Karate Kid*, had to be disguised as stories about teenagers. Little wonder we refused to pay our bills. Bills and credit ratings are adult concerns.

The good news about the '80s is that the decade ended in 1987. This was merciful—the '20s dragged on until 1929.

The stock market crashed. The arms-for-hostages scandal exposed Reagan as an amiable old fool. Jim and Tammy were turned out of their PTL playland. Gary Hart's adolescent ideas, not to mention his lies and infidelities, were no longer a turn-on. Suddenly, in 1987, movies were made about adults. *Fatal Attraction* and *Moonstruck* told us that we were growing up, *Broadcast News* that we were waking once again to ideas.

Yet the '80s, like the Roaring '20s, will live better in recollection than they did in life, and they will seem more prosperous. A decade of false prosperity and false youth will seem high-spirited as we look back from the poorhouse. Casey Stengal gave us a phrase we remembered and repeated in the '80s: "It's not over till it's over." Now it's over.

Contributing Editor James Dale Davidson is chairman of the National Taxpayers Union and coauthor of Blood in the Streets.

William Niskanen

...for the most serious efforts in this century to reduce the role of the state. Some of these efforts are still nascent, such as in the Soviet Union. Some were partial but more dramatic, such as in China and New Zealand. Some were broader but with limited success, such as in Britain, France, and the United States. These developments reflect the combined effects of a change in the ideological bounds and the accumulating evidence that government direction of the economy reduces both individual liberty and economic growth.

All of these developments, however, are vulnerable. Although Marxism has lost broad appeal, it is still the official credo in many nations. Freedom will continue to be threatened internally by innocent people who promote government "solutions" to most any perceived problem and appeal to others motivated by envy. A demonstrated record of government failure, as in education, will be used as a rationale to increase state control. Some problems that are the result of government programs, such as the rapid increase in the price of medical services, will be used as the rationale for new programs.

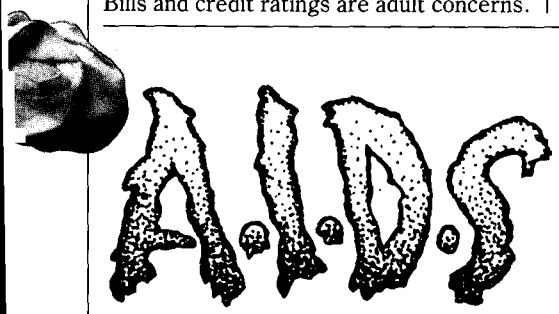
The future, however, will be different because of the developments of the '80s. Political history, like biological evolution, is path dependent. The '80s may be only a temporary pause in the relative growth of the state, or this decade could be a turning point in the direction of increased freedom. As always, historical change is the result of human action, not of some inexorable process for either good or evil.

William Niskanen is chairman of the Cato Institute.

Virginia I. Postrel

...for being better than the '70s—a lot better. Especially if you were a teenager in the '70s.

Assistant Editor Virginia I. Postrel doesn't consider herself a baby boomer.



John Dentinger

In the '80s, AIDS provided the major ammunition for a smug religious counterrevolution, cutting a bloody swath through all civil liberties, not just sexual ones, as civil libertarians had to concentrate on a fight against calls for concentration camps. By vetoing bills to establish tax credits for AIDS research (as in 1987 in California), the right kept AIDS research firmly in the hands of government. Promising lines of research that would have saved tens of thousands of lives were delayed or squelched.

Citizens of the '80s were concerned only about money and threw their votes in with the religious right in the vain hope that their taxes would be lowered. As Sun-

day closing laws returned, as many counties banned liquor, and as local theater owners were arrested for reviving *Carnal Knowledge*, few saw that the cause was their failure to fight for civil liberties for "fags" and "druggies." Even most libertarians failed to speak out. Libertarian soft-pedaling of civil liberties allowed AIDS to help calcify political debate in the old liberal-conservative terms, thus helping finish the transition of the libertarian movement from obscurity to total eclipse.

Former REASON Spotlight columnist John Dentinger is a Los Angeles free-lance writer.

Greg Rehmke

...for trade with Mars. The Reagan administration's strategy to increase the deficit to force down domestic spending had an unintended consequence. Congressmen, feeling the heat as the standard pork barrel projects got squeezed (or at least their expected rate of increase got squeezed), found a substitute. Highly publicized deficits in merchandise trade provided them a new growth industry in xenophobic pork. With fewer new federal dollars for hometown projects, congressmen learned to zap foreign competitors of hometown manufactured goods. The new pork barrel of the '80s has something for every district, from roses and sugar to textiles and computer chips. And with politicians all over the world looking to boost their case for hometown protectionism, the whole world taken together is running an amazing combined trade deficit in the '80s (some say around $100 billion a year). Either trade with Mars accounts for the difference or somebody has been cooking the books. So the '80s may be remembered for worldwide howling about worldwide trade deficits that together couldn't possibly be, but were anyway, and helped entrepreneurial politicians get reelected.

Greg Rehmke is the Reason Foundation's educational programs director.

Patrick Cox

...for the desperate entrenchment of those whose worldview was stamped by a New Deal media and whose testosterone level was verified in World War II, struggling against offspring who bought *Playboy*, smoked marijuana, broke the speed limit, opposed a war, abandoned slide rules, made heroes out of the rogue North and the rake Hart, and cheated on their taxes.

Young adults of the "Great" Depression are thoughtfully retiring or dying, though income taxes, an intrusive international reputation, bureaucracies, Social Security, and the debt they created and consigned to their children linger on, creating penury and contempt. Their experiment feeble and failing, they and their sycophants struggle to institutionalize their subliminal political/philosophical dictionary unto perpetuity in a vain but ineluctable grasp for historical immortality.

The decade saw real economic power fall into the bewildered hands of those inseminated by James Dean, carried by Bob Dylan, delivered by J. F. K., spanked by Ho Chi Minh, nursed by Sergeant Pepper, weaned by G. Gordon Liddy, and toilet-trained by Letterman and Spielberg. "In the Mood" was relegated to nostalgic camp and "Won't Get Fooled Again" elevated to classic status.

Former REASON Spotlight columnist Patrick Cox is a regular contributor to USA Today.

Manuel S. Klausner

...for a resurgence of skepticism about what government can do.

...for the major contribution of the Reagan presidency—appointment to the federal bench of numerous judges who understand economics and the need to protect individual rights, including property rights.

...internationally, for inauguration of the Gorbachev era, involving potentially massive internal reforms and steps to improve Soviet-American relations. And for another memorable aspect of the '80s—the Soviets' being effectively held to a stalemate by the freedom fighters in Afghanistan.

...for yuppies and dinks (double-income, no kids) and the baby boom entrepreneur, who came of age and helped signal the trend toward opposition to government intervention in economic activity and personal conduct.

...for the Kasparov-Karpov matches, with the emergence of Gary Kasparov as the best-known chess champion since Bobby Fischer.

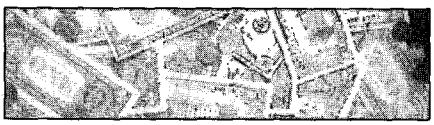
...for the emergence of "foodies" and the chef as superstar, accompanied by a renewed focus on quality, freshness, and originality and by an increased popularity of ethnic cuisine ranging from Cajun to Caribbean to "California."

...for many excellent wine vintages and

high-quality wine making in France, California, Australia, and Italy—1982 may be remembered as the vintage of the century for Bordeaux, and the 1985 red Burgundies will be difficult to surpass in the rest of this century.

...finally, for the growing importance of the Pacific Rim and the city of Los Angeles as a financial and business center...and for the Reason Foundation's move to Los Angeles in 1986 and the resultant expansion in Los Angeles of free-market ideas.

Senior Editor Manuel S. Klausner, a Los Angeles attorney, was one of the partners who published REASON from 1971 to 1978.



William Tucker

Yes, what will they be remembered for? History has not been kind to Republican eras of prosperity. The Roaring '20s are still seen as little more than a prelude to the Depression—an age of flapper frivolities and fatuous presidents. The '50s are The Silent Decade, when we were all terrified into conformity by The Bomb and a somnambulant President Eisenhower.

Few remember the '20s and '50s as periods of astonishing economic progress, when America leapt ahead of the world in prosperity. Liberal historians prefer the grim heroics of the '30s, the outlandish excesses of the '60s, or—failing all else—the countercultural triumphs of the Watergate '70s. And so it may seem almost foreordained that the '80s will eventually be written off as just another Republican interlude when "greed" and "passivity" temporarily triumphed over "morality" and "social consciousness."

Yet history retains the capacity to surprise, and 1988 may become what historian Lewis Namier called 1848, the "Year of Revolutions" in Europe—"the turning point at which history didn't turn." I suspect the Republicans will win the presidency in 1988 and it will suddenly become clear to everyone that, rather than being a fluke or an interlude, the '80s actually marked the beginning of a long historical period in which Americans finally gave up the collectivist fantasies of the early 20th century and became a mature, responsible, permanently growing nation.

Contributing Editor William Tucker is writing a book on the family.

Peter Samuel

...for confirming the cynics, who despair of the intractability of the polity. But there are some nuances of difference.

At the level of national defense, the decade has seen nuclear deterrence take a great battering—first from the freeze movement, later from the arms control movement, which now includes such improbables as Ronald Reagan, George Shultz, and Paul Nitze. Maybe Reagan will be remembered as the hardliner-gone-soft who began by describing the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and ended by saying they have changed. Carter began his presidency as a dove and, after Afghanistan, ended it a hawk. Reagan began as a hawk and, after meeting Gorbachev, is ending his term a dove. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative was one of the interesting ideas of the '80s but seems likely to remain that—an idea being researched.

The decade began with great hope for progress in economic deregulation and translating the intellectual ascendancy of free-marketeers into greater economic freedom. It ends with some small progress—in taxation, transportation, oil. But the interventionists are ominously strong in their pressures to reregulate airlines and railroads and are using Black Monday and Ivan Boesky to justify newly intrusive controls of capital markets. And hysteria over the trade deficit continues to propel destructive protectionist moves in Congress, despite high employment.

The end of the '80s may see a long overdue recession or a revival of inflation to double digits. And since there is probably a one-in-four chance that the depression doomsters are right about dangerously excessive debt, there's a possibility the '80s will be remembered for laying the ground for a 1935-45–style period of grand interventionism, a new New Deal.

Contributing Editor Peter Samuel is a Washington-based journalist.

Alan Reynolds

...for a revival of democracy and capitalism, for privatization, deregulation, and reduced tax penalties for increasing output and income. It has been very much the era of Thatcher and Reagan, with flattering emulation worldwide. There were deep, radical reductions of marginal tax rates in Colombia, Bolivia, Jamaica, Mauritius, Botswana, Ciskei, Indonesia, Israel, Singapore, the Philippines, Turkey, New Zealand, China, and (for a few years) even India. All of these economies, like those of the United States and the United Kingdom, soon outperformed their neighbors. By 1988 there were also timid gestures toward marginal tax relief in Sweden, Norway, Australia, France, Canada, and Japan, soon to be followed by Greece, Austria, Ireland, and the Netherlands. Will any of this be remembered? Not by the academic elite, who never understood what was going on, but by taxpayers in the affected countries. A backlash is likely, since there are powerful financial and political interests in reregulation, in protection of sleepy managers from foreign rivalry or domestic takeovers, and in a tax and welfare system that punishes success and rewards failure.

Contributing Editor Alan Reynolds is the chief economist for Polyconomics Inc.

James Taranto

...as the decade that gave us Ronald Reagan, safe sex, freedom fighters, market meltdowns, shot shuttles, people power, antiapartheid activists, supply siders, and Classic Coke.

Also between now and 1991, it is possible that the New Wave will recede, the New Age will die of old age, and New Ideas will become a thing of the past. We can only hope.

Editorial intern James Taranto is too young to remember the '60s and considers himself fortunate.

Michael McMenamin

What will be remembered about the '80s depends upon who does the remembering. For lawyers like me who make a living defending media interest as well as others who cherish a free and independent press, the '80s will not be recalled with fondness.

Juries delivered verdicts against the media whenever they got a chance. The media lost 89 percent of libel cases that went to trial, the more prominent of which included a multimillion-dollar judgment by a Las Vegas jury for hometown entertainer Wayne Newton against NBC and a similar verdict by a Chicago jury for a major tobacco company against the local CBS affiliate.

Judges joined in. After displaying an open hostility to the media while on the U.S. Court of Appeals, Antonin Scalia was elevated to the Supreme Court, which this year reversed long-standing precedent and held that high school newspapers are not entitled to protection of the First Amendment against government censorship.

Politicians were no better. When Rupert Murdoch's *Boston Herald* offended Massachusetts Senators Kennedy and Kerry, they conspired behind closed doors with liberal and conservative legislators from both parties to pass, without debate, a bill that required Murdoch to sell the paper or lose his Boston television station.

Defense of the media has always had more than its share of summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. In the '80s the struggle continued without them.

Contributing Editor Michael McMenamin is a trial lawyer in Cleveland.

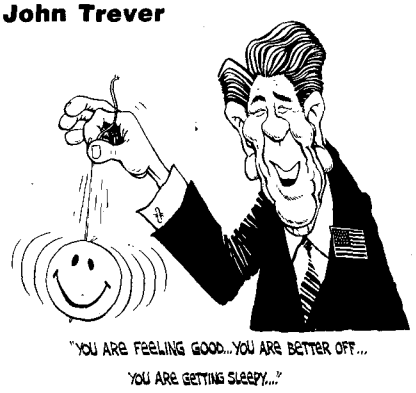
George Gilder

...as the epic when America overcame entropy and socialism succumbed to it. The United States used supply-side economics and high technology to launch a record economic boom despite a near depression among our trading partners in Europe and the Third World. While Europe followed big-government industrial policy for high technology and job preservation, it lost nearly 2 percent of its employment and fell ever farther behind in the key technologies of the information age. Shaking the tin cup of socialism at every global conclave, the Third World sounded its own death rattle. Meanwhile, U.S. and Asian capitalism converged in one thriving Pacific economy based on human liberty and creativity in the information age.

But who rescinded the Second Law? We did. The crowning symbol of this era of unleashed innovation and progress was the simultaneous invention of the desktop supercomputer and the high-temperature superconductor. Together with the rising yield of bioengineering, these breakthroughs promise at long last an eventual escape from dependence on raw materials and other territorial forms of wealth that suffer decay and exhaustion in a world of thermodynamic decline. The Second Law will fall before the capitalist law of reason: knowledge grows as it is used. Remember, you read it here first.

George Gilder is the author of Wealth and Poverty *and, most recently, of* Microcosm.

John Trever



John Trever is the editorial cartoonist for the Albuquerque Journal.

Doug Bandow

...for the failure of politics to solve human problems. President Jimmy Carter inaugurated the decade by demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the liberal welfare state; President Ronald Reagan concluded the decade with his conservative revolution in disarray.

...as the time when the public sector openly institutionalized envy and greed. Agricultural subsidies expanded five-fold as farmers shamelessly demanded more. Social Security became a sacred cow. And agencies like the Small Business Administration and Economic Development Administration, widely recognized as special interest groups, survived every attack.

...for the loss of communism's credibility. In Poland, a labor union and a church together challenged the state. China dismantled its farm collectives, the Soviet Union amended its laws to encourage foreign investment, and Vietnam loosened its rigid economic controls.

...for the atmosphere of hope abroad, as countries like the Philippines and Korea moved toward democracy and even the Soviet Union adopted policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. And for the feeling of despair at home, as such traditional values as honesty, monogamy, and charity declined, AIDS became an epidemic, the drug war was lost, and the secular world's answers became increasingly inadequate.

Contributing Editor Doug Bandow is a syndicated columnist and a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

Lynn Scarlett

Jeopardy contestants, Trivial Pursuit devotees, and the learned may remember Gary Hart, Ivan Boesky, and Raisa Gorbachev some years hence. But for the rest of us, alas, the '80s—the newsworthy stuff of the '80s—will reduce to a couple of well-worn epithets. Ah, yes, the '80s—the era of yuppies and Black Monday on the stock market. After all, the '20s conjure up images of flappers and the other big crash; the '30s notoriously bring to mind the Depression, Hitler, and a notion that the New Deal came along about that time; the '50s is all Mom and apple pie punctuated by the Beatniks. The '60s was a very busy decade, so we remember fully four things about it—the Cuban missile crisis, the Vietnam war, student political hullabaloo, and hippies. And the '70s—well now, the '70s were pretty unremarkable, unless we count Watergate, inflation, and Billy Carter.

If what I remember about those earlier eras is any guide to how most of us will remember the '80s, then yuppies and the stock market crash seem like good candidates. But if we move away from the Big Stuff of the nightly news and *People* magazine, the '80s will come into clearer focus. I will remember the '80s for the birth of my daughter and for all the little trials, tribulations, and personal encounters that are what life is really all about. I mean, consider, for example, my grandma, now 95. She remembers her neighbor, Peach Seeds, in more detail than she recalls the death of President McKinley. While our particulars will vary, I suspect that is the sort of thing most of us will remember about the '80s.

Book Review Editor Lynn Scarlett is also the Reason Foundation's research director.

BEYOND BLADE RUNNER

BY VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

He had the same questions as everyone. Where do I come from? Where am I going? How long have I got?

Deckard, Blade Runner

On an electronic billboard ten stories high, a Japanese woman takes a pill and smiles. Hidden speakers boom advertisements: "A new life awaits you in the off-world colony, a chance to begin again in a golden land of opportunity." Through the rain and omnipresent yellow fog, we see what look like urbanized Chinese peasants. Far below the gleaming billboards, grubby open-air stalls dispense noodle soup of questionable content.

Los Angeles, 2019. Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner*. Of all Hollywood's images of the future, the most striking, a classic example of "if this goes on" science fiction. It is sure to be inaccurate. But it is also true.

In the movie, the Tyrell Corporation genetically engineers artificial people, or "replicants," for use as slaves on colony worlds. Created without emotions, they develop them with time, so they are given four-year lifespans to forestall problems. Replicants are illegal on earth, hunted down and killed by "blade runners"—including Deckard (Harrison Ford), who has quit the business but is drafted to "retire" four runaways. Already weary of killing, he becomes increasingly conscious of his quarry's humanity. Along the way, he falls in love with Rachel, an experimental replicant "more human than human," with memories from a natural woman's past. She saves Deckard's life.

So does Roy, the escapees' brilliant and embittered leader. Enraged at his mortality, he has killed his maker, the genius Tyrell. He means to kill Deckard, as well. But as his own four-year life expires, Roy pulls Deckard, who is dangling from the top of a building, to safety.

"I don't know why he saved my life," Deckard says. "Maybe in that moment he loved life more than he ever had before. Not just his own life but all life. Even mine." In the end, Deckard heads north with Rachel. Unlike the others, she has no termination date.

The central question of *Blade Runner* is, What makes us human? In 20 years, the same question will occupy more than the occasional science-fiction writer.

Medicine is magical and magical is art
The Boy in the Bubble
And the baby with the baboon heart...
These are the days of miracle and wonder
And don't cry baby, don't cry
Don't cry

Paul Simon, The Boy in the Bubble*

At least since the Victorians, the main intellectual debate has been political—a struggle between individualism and collectivism, especially in its Marxian guises. But that conflict, while unlikely to disappear altogether, is rapidly moving to the sidelines—partly because experience has demonstrated that collectivism is neither efficient nor humane. The sanctity of the individual has become widely accepted in theory, although too often ignored in practice. Now powerful forces are beginning to challenge the meaning of that sanctity.

The first is the biotechnology revolution that gives *Blade Runner* its plot and today's front pages their lead stories. By 2008 the revolution will be the regime,

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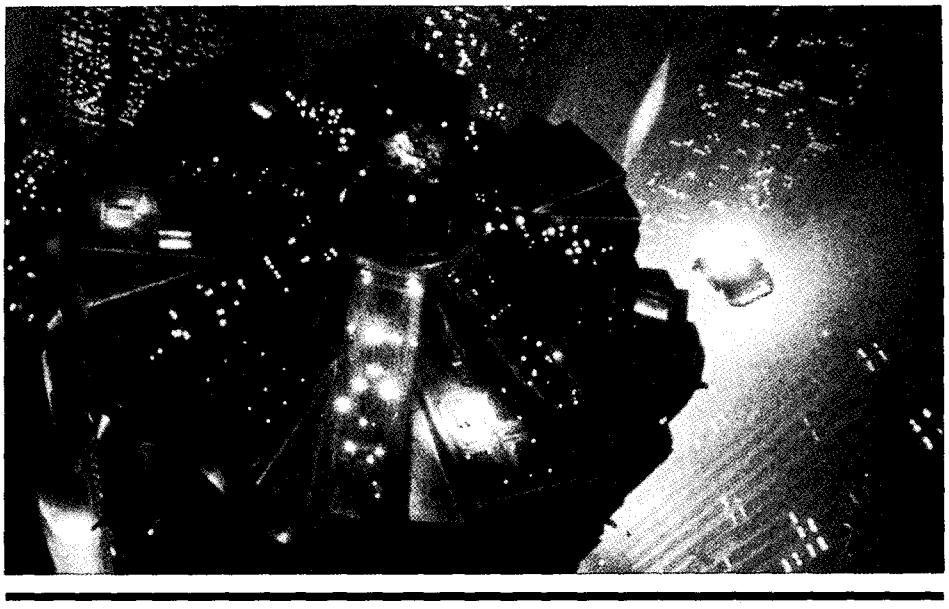
its results entrenched. Those results will spring not from technological prowess alone but from arguments over how to apply it. And those arguments will force us to change, or at least refine, the way we look at individual life.

The first set of arguments, the ones we are having today, concern when, if ever, one individual can be rightly sacrificed to another and who qualifies as an individual. Is an anencephalic infant, born with only a brain stem, a human being whose individual humanity makes it worthy of protection? Or does that infant lack the very essence of humanity? Or, to take a third tack, is that infant indeed a human being but one whose life is destined to be so short and miserable that we do well to sacrifice it to give lifesaving organs to another child?



The questions go on and on: Is it right to grow fetuses specifically to abort them and use their organs or brain cells to cure disease-ridden adults? If the answer is yes, is it right because the fetus isn't an individual or because the benefits outweigh the costs (or, with another slant, the end justifies the means)?

These are not fundamentally political questions. People who agree strongly on political principles, on the primacy, say, of individual rights, can disagree passionately when asked to draw the line between those who qualify for rights and those who don't.

These questions do, however, strike at an issue that has been at the core of many a political debate: How inclusive are the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? If forced to choose, do we err on the side of caution, by including as many categories of "persons" as seem remotely justified? Or on the side of convenience, by excluding all but the most obvious?

Biotechnology strikes at our comfortable concept of the individual in yet another way. As we gain greater control over human form and function, it will become possible to increase either uniformity or diversity—to create multiple versions of the same perfection or to express flamboyant individuality. Human cloning will soon be possible. And gene therapy, developed to cure diseases such as sickle cell anemia, could become a way to alter other "abnormalities," from eye color to intelligence. The genes need not be changed before birth; current research promises a time when adults, too, will be able to change the genetic pattern in each of their cells. By 2008, biotech will mean not custom-tailored bacteria but a whole new concept of the self-made man.

Whether people will use body-changing technology to enhance individuality or conformity is unpredictable, more a function of cultural preferences and individual tastes than of philosophy or technology. Indeed, it's quite likely that some people will engineer themselves or their children to conform to standards while others prefer to stand out—much as both Beverly Hills matrons and punk rockers buy hair dye.

The squeaky wheel gets the grease.
American proverb

The nail that sticks out will be pounded down.
Japanese proverb

Amid the miracles and wonders of biotechnology (and in the background of *Blade Runner*), we are witnessing a cultural shift of world-historic proportions. East and West are fusing, in the most momentous combination of powerful civilizations since Hellenism collided with the Middle East—leaving Christianity in its wake. What exactly this new fusion will produce is unpredictable, as are all cultural transformations. Like Greeks with only the haziest knowledge of Persia and Judea, we can only guess at the future. But there are a few signs already.

For starters, economic competition with Asian nations and the growing number of Asian immigrants are beginning to infuse the United States with what we might call the Confucian work ethic. The stereotypical American yuppie, Japanese company man, and Korean-American shopkeeper have this much in common—they all spend the vast majority of their time working, and their friends are most likely drawn from their circle of colleagues.

While Americans often fault ourselves for not working enough, that very criticism is evidence that the ethos of work is changing—and that more than materialism is driving the change. Good employees, especially in service businesses, are expected to work more than a 40-hour week. "Being your own boss" has returned to totemic status; rare is the entrepreneur who works nine to five. And since both men and women are expected to hold jobs outside the home, work, rather than home life, consumes the majority of almost everyone's waking hours.

Asian culture and Japan's economic success, in particular, have also magnified the myth of teamwork, already prominent in American culture. The team values of harmony and sensitivity have become increasingly praised here, helped not only by the Japanese model but also by a push from Alan Alda–style feminism. In the business world, for example, bosses can no longer dish out blunt criticism and expect an employee to "take it like a man." Rather, the burden of making things go smoothly falls on the supervisor, who must cushion the blow. Similarly, creativity is more likely to be a team effort—à la those heavy-handed Nissan commercials, where designers sit around sharing ideas about what customers want in a truck. A world

of tightly knit groups provides less room for egos.

Added to this cultural influence is a third factor—a demographic shift that portends an even greater emphasis on group harmony. By 2008, a huge proportion of young adults will be made up of people who spent nearly their entire childhood—from babyhood on—in structured, group environments where individual needs and interests must, of necessity, be subordinated. Even within their own homes, life has revolved not around them, as it did for the kids of the '50s, but around their parents (who were the kids of the '50s).

At the same time, the worlds of adults and children are merging. Twenty years ago, it was unheard of for a professional to bring a child to spend the day at the office. Today, while certainly not the rule, the practice is common. Children go to dinner parties, not just to say a brief hello but to stay the evening. The separation of children and adults was a relatively recent phenomenon, made possible by the Industrial Revolution and fully realized only in this century. In effect, we are returning to the historical status quo.

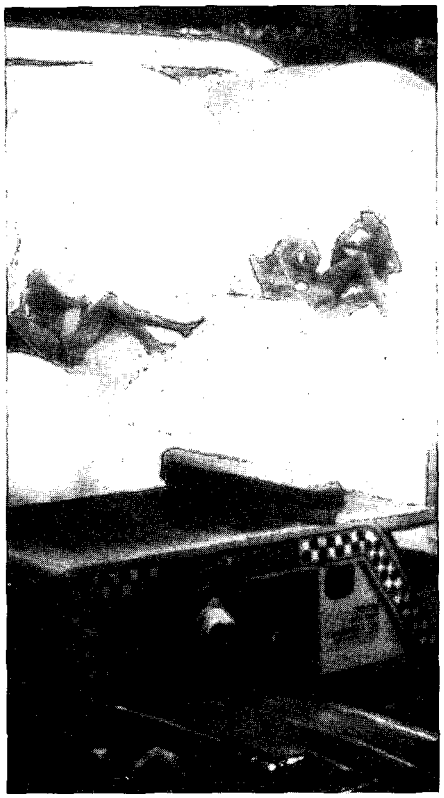
When they hit college, the baby boom's babies may rebel and demand more attention, less structure, and a world of their own—giving us an intensified version of the '60s. But, more likely, they'll become the quintessential team players, able to go along to get along and perhaps even a little uncomfortable when left to their own devices. They may, in short, turn into American versions of the Japanese.

It is not good for man to be alone.
Genesis

The current attempt to juggle work and home life is not stable, nor was the '50s-model nuclear family that preceded it. By 2008, we may see the creation of a new kind of social organization—the work team that functions like an extended family.

For many people, work is the most constant aspect of life, the greatest source of stability. And the line between work and the rest of life is rapidly blurring. A work team that explicitly mingles the personal and professional will resolve many of the dilemmas posed by today's uneasy balance between the two realms.

From a business standpoint, team members will be tied to each other, rather than to a company, and may move from project to project, company to company. Yet because they already know how to work together, members will be able to attack new problems effectively. This phenomenon is common in Silicon Valley, where whole teams of people quit one company to start another.



From the demand side, businesses that employ outside teams will find they can streamline their own operations to concentrate on what they do best. Why, for example, should a company whose talent lies in designing polymers have an accounting department? Ultimately, a "company" may consist of a bunch of different teams that have united temporarily. Some of these teams may stay on, forming a stable company, or the whole enterprise may break up after a few years. This fluidity will radically restructure the business world.

By integrating home and work, the work team of 2008 will restructure personal life as well. For starters, it will provide the support once drawn from families. A member with a sick child or ailing parent will be able to call on teammates for help. And since the team relationship will be long-term, everyone can expect to benefit from such mutual aid.

Home and work will be physically as well as psychologically joined: Team members will very likely live clustered together, not actually in the same dwelling but in the same complex. And much work will be done from home, with perhaps a central "office" space. Like the mingling of children and adults, this combining of home and work is the historical norm. In agricultural economies, the farm is the home, and even in commercial societies it's quite common for a business owner to live above the business—and to have the whole family involved in running it. The future may resemble nothing so much as the past.

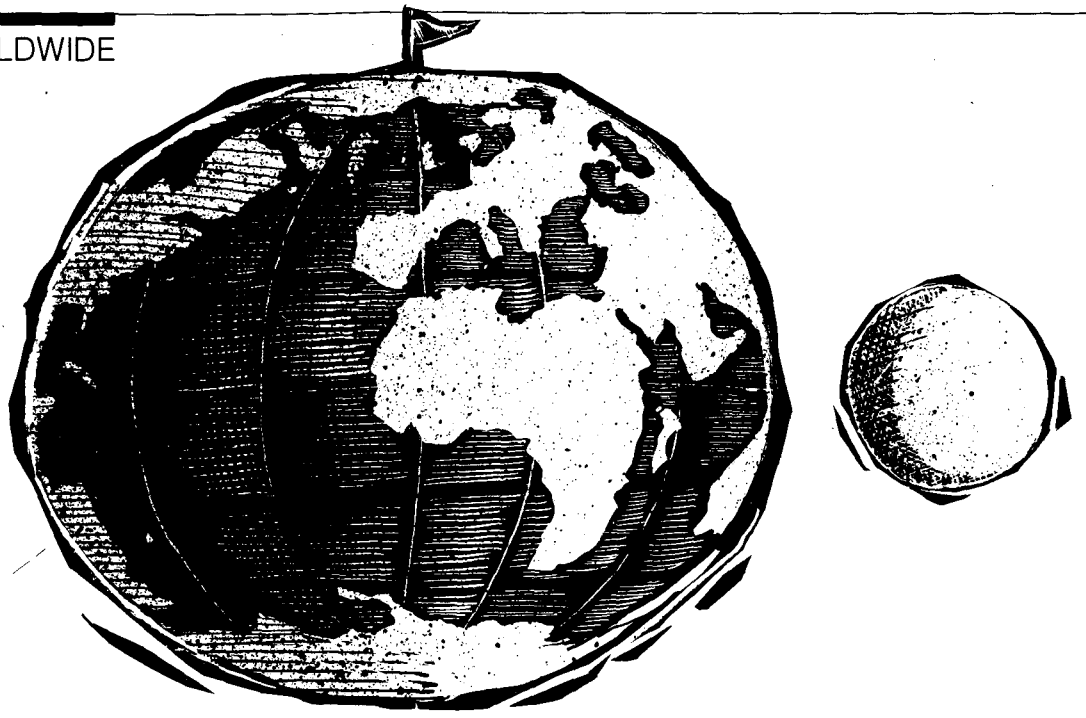
The world was all before them, where to choose...
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.
John Milton, Paradise Lost

We live in interesting times, times in which the most basic of basic assumptions are called into question. Western civilization is disappearing, or, more accurately, being folded into a new world civilization. The family is redefining itself. And now, as only rarely before in history, ordinary people have to consider the question, What is a human being?

In such extraordinary times, 20 years can change the world. The year 2008 will be more different from today than we can imagine. But if I had to guess—and I do—I'd predict a future where individual political rights exist and political debate continues, but where political issues are not primary. Where individual differences are discouraged for their own sakes but encouraged when they benefit a larger group. Where there is less emphasis on autonomy and more on interdependence, and where tightly knit groups provide an oasis in which individuality can flourish. In general, I'd predict a future where the sanctity of the individual, in and of his or herself, is taken much less seriously than it is now. This is not to say that people will be considered unimportant, only that the balance will have shifted.

I'd also predict a future in which that new balance is forever challenged by the same technological progress and cultural mixing that established it in the first place. Change is, after all, the only certainty. ◻

Virginia I. Postrel is assistant editor of REASON.



PROCLAIM **LIBERTY** THROUGHOUT THE LANDS

by STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

In the 20 years that began with the "revolutionary epic" of 1968, liberty has attained the status of a grail for peoples and nations throughout the world. In East Europe and the Soviet Union, it has been the goal of dissident movements both massive (as in Poland) and diminutive. In Western Europe, its quest has led a whole generation of political figures away from statist socialism. In Latin America, the harbingers of freedom's future include governments recently cleansed of official police terrorism. In Asia, a process of democratic renewal has begun in an environment of free-market–fueled prosperity.

In examining the idea of freedom over the past two decades, there is no better place or time to begin than in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1968. Toward the end of the cycle of rebellion that marked that year, the fateful character of the Czechoslovak reform movement became apparent to the world. As the cultural and economic leader of the central-east European nations, Czechoslovakia had found its prosperity and welfare deeply harmed by the imposition of a Soviet-controlled dictatorship at the end of the Second World War. A remarkable new leadership had emerged in the 1960s in the Czechoslovak Communist Party as well as in the media and the universities, calling for "socialism with a human face." The direction of the reforms was explicit: toward a removal of the totalitarian institutions that had crippled the economy for so long, toward complete political pluralism, toward greater independence from the East-West military blocs.

The tragic outcome was, then, inevitable. Soviet tanks rolled into Prague; and although few were killed, the reforming intelligentsia were thoroughly rooted out of public life, forced into exile in one of the most important of the many "diasporas" of intellectuals in recent years. For a time, the promise of freedom seemed crushed in that part of Europe under the statist tyranny of Moscow.

In the ensuing years, however, new forms of antistatist action emerged in the region. Hungary's regime, in the interest of restoring health to its economy—which, like that of Czechoslovakia, had once been a leader—reestablished some free-market economic practices. The benefits of this decision are apparent to anybody who even cursorily studies the country.

Poland produced the ultimate irony of all Communist systems: the very industrial workers whom Marx and Lenin claimed to liberate rose up by the millions in the name of their own doctrine of "the workers' leading role in society" and demanded an end to statist dictation. The form of this movement—a voluntary trade union that eventually included almost the entire work force—must have surprised not only many leftist observers but also supporters of a free market. Even more surprising must be the fluency with which Polish activists today define "their socialism" on the basis of F. A. Hayek and Milton Friedman.

Of course, the ultimate subject of any debate about freedom in Marxist-Leninist countries must be the Soviet state itself. The two decades that began with Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev ordering tanks into Prague are ending with his eventual successor, Mikhail Gorbachev, embracing more or less the same program advanced by the "Prague Spring" reformers. In Moscow, the movement toward a relaxation of statist controls has begun to be associated with the thinking of a "right-wing Communist" killed by Stalin, Nikolai Bukharin. Bukharin was outstanding among the Bolshevik leaders in his sympathy for free-market economics, particularly in the countryside: his famous slogan was "Peasants, Get Rich!"

But whether, as so many people throughout the world so fervently hope, the process of Gorbachevian *glasnost* will lead to some kind of "market socialism," on the Hungarian model, or even to the

MICHAEL KNEPP

fall of the statist bureaucracy and the restoration of a capitalist democracy, cannot be accurately predicted. One of the major issues for freedom seekers in the East Bloc is Jewish emigration and minority nationality rights in general.

There have been few indications that official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, which expresses itself in such ways as the bar on Jewish students at major universities, will diminish. Most observers interested in the issue of minority nationals—such as Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, and Asians—seem doubtful that Gorbachev's reforms will bring a halt to the steady Russification visible everywhere in the Soviet Union. However, it is hard to imagine Soviet society attaining its new goal of Western-style prosperity without freeing the entrepreneurial energies of the Jews, Muslims, Armenians, and Georgians.

One of the saddest chapters in the development of freedom in East Europe has been written over the past two decades in Yugoslavia. From the late 1940s to the end of the 1970s, the Yugoslav state enjoyed a reputation as the most pragmatic and freest of the Marxist-Leninist regimes. Unfortunately, the Yugoslav idyll contained the undermining influence of competing nationalisms, with the centralist Serbian-dominated government in Belgrade continually obstructing the advance of political, economic, and cultural rights among other Yugoslav nationals —Slovenes, Croatians, Albanians, and Macedonians. As these groups have asserted their rights, especially the Albanians, they have suffered bitter and brutal repression from the "enlightened" Yugoslav state. Today Yugoslavia, with its legions of Albanian prisoners, has one of the worst human rights records in Europe.

Concern for human rights and the concept of "market socialism" have not been limited to Marxist states. These have been the central issues for many young political activists in the Western European "Latin zone" of Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy. In these countries the huge leftist influence that began in 1968 has largely given way to a pragmatic centrism. (By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic nations such as Britain, West Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia continue to find their intellectual life dominated by a utopian and frequently authoritarian left.)

This turn toward the center has been produced largely by the entry into power of socialist parties, which have found their old statist nostrums to be extremely unpopular when put into practice. But much can also be ascribed to the "negative example" of the French socialists under François Mitterrand and the Italian socialists under Bettino Craxi (who has contributed considerably to the development of an antistatist model of socialist politics).

In Spain, the socialist administration of Felipe Gonzalez has gone beyond rethinking to embrace privatization, a concept universally rejected by the left at the beginning of the '80s. The direction of political life in Spain is very well illustrated by the case of Antoni Fernandez Teixido, a tax economist who was a prominent activist in the revolutionary Trotskyist movements of the past two decades but is now a member of the national legislature for Barcelona, representing the free-market CDS party of Adolfo Suarez. Fernandez Teixido avers that his own path away from Marxism-Leninism was strongly influenced by reading Murray Rothbard and other libertarian thinkers.

> Africa has shown the least willingness to depart from the economic and political doctrines of socialism—and it has paid the price.

"The transition" is another issue that has made the situation in Spain (and Portugal) dramatic and poignant. Until 1974-75, these countries were ruled by the last of the old-style fascist regimes. With the Portuguese revolution of 1974-75 and the death of Spanish dictator Franco in the latter year, both nations began their way down a long and dangerous road, with threats on all sides. Their governments faced an imperative need to dismantle the centralist and statist economic institutions that characterized fascism. These included extreme protectionism, lifetime guarantees of employment, and multiple bureaucratic burdens, in addition to the historical reliance on declining industries such as steelmaking and shipbuilding.

There were also problems from the left, including extremist economic demands as well as terrorism. In Portugal, the fascist economic system was originally replaced by an equally restrictive system of "socialist" measures that went as far as nationalizing large banks. But these practices, many of which were constitutionalized, have largely been abolished in the past five years. The Stalinist-leaning Communist Party and its ultraleftist cohort, which sought establishment of a leftist dictatorship, also menaced the stability of the new Portuguese state. In Spain, nationalist terrorism combined with endemic unemployment in the industrially obsolete Basque region to create an ongoing challenge to the democratic order. Both countries have also had to contend with ultrarightist pressures, as well.

"The transition to democracy" from authoritarianism is a major theme in the vocabulary of freedom as it is used today in Latin America. In this region, the end of authoritarian regimes in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil has involved a new commitment to public accountability and representation. Throughout the continent, the disasters of leftist extremism (which caused guerrilla warfare and terrible police repression in Argentina and elsewhere), as well as the repressive nature of the revolutionary regimes in Cuba and Nicaragua, have driven a small minority of very prescient intellectuals out of the ranks of the traditional left. These include the Mexican poet Octavio Paz and, most prominently, the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa.

Vargas Llosa is the outstanding representative of this new trend. His books, including *The War of the End of the World*, *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta*, and *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*, have been bestsellers in many languages.

The novelist began his literary career as a man of the left, a favorite of Cuba as well as the radical intelligentsia in his own country, Europe, and the United States. But as he has stated in innumerable interviews and articles, he began to grow uneasy with the left at the end of

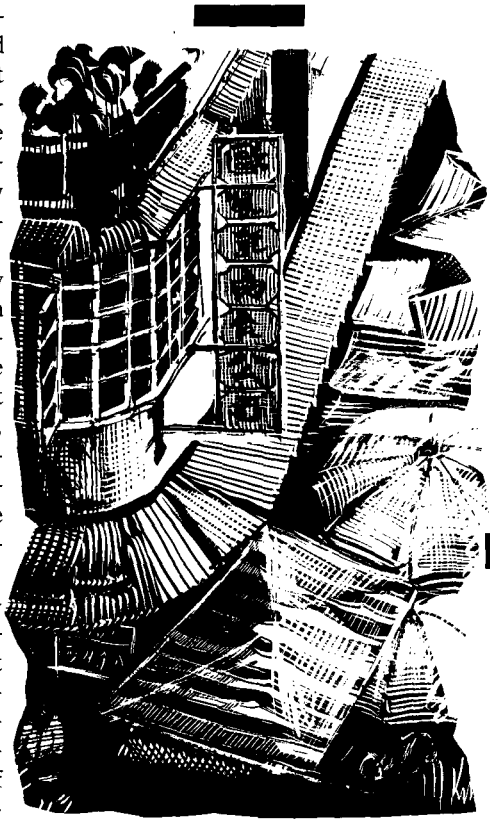
the 1960s because of the increase in cultural repressiveness in Cuba. By the end of the 1970s he had made it clear that he was no longer willing to follow the established Latin leftist opinion on a whole range of issues, including that of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, where he saw undeniable indications of a Stalinist direction.

Vargas Llosa was bitterly attacked by the left when he agreed to serve on a national commission, set up by Peru's president at the time, Francisco Belaunde Terry, to inquire into a violent incident in the Andes mountains. The commission, Vargas Llosa included, issued a report absolving government personnel of involvement in the incident and pointing out the dangers of terrorist activity by the ultraleftist Sendero Luminoso guerrillas.

In 1987, however, Vargas Llosa's political change received national and worldwide media attention. This came about when Peruvian president Alan Garcia, following the statist traditions of his anticommunist but leftist party, APRA, announced the complete nationalization of Peru's banking system. Thousands of Peruvians viewed this as a major step toward the implantation of totalitarianism and poured into the streets to express their alarm. Among the opponents of Garcia's decision was Vargas Llosa, who overnight became the national spokesperson for this massive movement in defense of private property.

The defection of Vargas Llosa in the direction of what might best be called "centrist capitalist reformism" has caused considerable unease among those leftist intellectuals who formerly praised him as a political and literary model. The Chilean writer Jorge Edwards, who once upon a time served (briefly) as ambassador to Castro's Cuba from Salvador Allende's Chile, has had to defend Vargas Llosa in the pages of *Vuelta*, Octavio Paz's monthly review and a leading forum for free-market and other antistatist ideas in the Spanish language. But the price of such a position in the turbulent world of Latin American politics must not be forgotten. Vargas Llosa has received continuing death threats from APRA fanatics since his statements of defiance regarding the Garcia bank nationalization. Paz has been hung and burned in effigy outside the *Vuelta* office.

If anything in the Hispanic world stimulates optimists, it is that the new capitalist democracies such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil obviously outnumber



If there is any country where Marxist socialism might prove a step toward capitalist abundance, it is China.

Cuba and its new satellite, Nicaragua. Furthermore, even such crisis states as Guatemala and El Salvador seem to be proceeding slowly but surely toward a stable Western-style system.

Meanwhile, the evidence indicates that extrication of Chile from Pinochet's dictatorship will follow a model closer to that of "transition" Spain than of Nicaragua. Many of the Chilean socialists who dominated the revolutionary ferment under Allende went into exile in Spain, where they have been profoundly influenced by the transformation of Spanish socialists from the most radical, most statist socialist party in Europe to a governing party committed to free-market economic reforms, including privatization.

Yet although Latin American politicians and intellectuals are slowly beginning to embrace the concept of a free and accountable governing system based on private economic initiative, the region has yet to produce an example of the kind of "economic miracle" that would help make this trend irresistible. The area of the world that continues to be a showcase for free enterprise and entrepreneurship is, as we all know, East Asia. It is widely repeated throughout the Hispanic world that when there is a Spanish-speaking country with prosperity and expansion comparable to South Korea or Taiwan or even Malaysia, most of the battle against the utopian-revolutionary left will have been won.

The advance of the smaller Asian countries' economies in the global market, as well as their rise in incomes and education levels, continue to stun and even bewilder the world. It cannot be accidental that the countries with the greatest economic achievements over the past 20 years, South Korea and Taiwan, are precisely those traditionally linked with the greatest Asian business and trade power, Japan.

Japan itself is an immense historical laboratory, in which the course of modernization and industrialization has mainly followed free-market concepts and the modern revolution has taken place rationally, at times forcibly, against a backdrop of highly traditional culture. The Japanese ethos involves so great a quantity of what can only be called "voluntary collective discipline" that business, military, and state reform could be imposed bloodlessly in the latter half of the 19th century. In place of an imperial rule based on divine ancestry, the Western-style parliamentary democracy introduced into the country following its defeat in the Second World War has enjoyed a remarkable level of public acceptance.

But free enterprise and what Marxists call "bourgeois democracy" are equally important components of the capitalist revolution that, beginning in Europe, has contributed so dramatically to human progress in the past two centuries. In the area of democratic institutions, Japan remains far ahead of the smaller Asian nations, none of which has yet created a stable system based on civic accountability and a multiparty system.

The Philippines, an economic problem area notwithstanding the emergence of a fairly large middle class, has probably

gone farthest, aside from Japan, in implanting a Western-style system. South Korea recently fought an election that may lead to long-term constitutional rule after decades of dictatorship and military meddling. Taiwan's hereditary dictator, Chiang Ching-kuo, has just died, opening up the possibility of a "transition" process on the island. Malaysia remains under the control of ethnic chieftains, while prosperous and "social democratic" Singapore, under Lee Kuan Yew, is in reality a thinly disguised centralist, one-party state with some of the most restrictive practices and abuses in the world.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that the Asian nations with the worst economic problems, such as India, Burma, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Vietnam, are just those whose leaderships have most heavily committed themselves to statist socialism since the Second World War. Burma is probably the most famous and tragic case: A country that exported rice to its neighbors for millennia, that built golden pagodas, and whose Buddhist religious hierarchy provided voluntary welfare so that there were no poor, is today starving and in rags, surviving only thanks to a colossal underground economy, and is wracked by ethnic warfare and opium-zone gangsterism.

The Asian country most fascinating to libertarians today must be China, where a communist leadership seems utterly serious (much more than Gorbachev) about its commitment to expanding the private economy. Enterprise zones, business colleges, and the opening of a Kentucky Fried Chicken in Beijing are the obvious evidence.

Many cultural elements have given Chinese communism a character so different from its Soviet and other peers. To begin with, the thrust of the Chinese revolution was toward modernization rather than a social utopia, and as the task of modernization remains unfinished, the entrepreneurial tools, methods, and habits that can bring it to term have gained natural precedence over Marxist ideology. If there is any country where the (past) experience of Marxist socialism might prove to be a step *toward* a society of capitalist abundance, rather than away, it is China.

On the other hand, China over the last two decades is without doubt the country where human aspirations toward freedom, individual responsibility, and personal self-respect suffered the worst humiliation, during the 10 years of the so-called Cultural Revolution. But unlike the Maoists' mentors in Soviet Russia during the Stalin purges and their imitators in Pol Pot's Cambodia, the bureaucratic tyrants who launched the "cultural revolution" were unable to fully exercise their passion for killing. Thus, the overall damage of the experience so far seems to have been relatively small.

Latin America has yet to produce an "economic miracle" that would make the trend toward open government and freer markets irresistible.

A major piece of unfinished business remains, however—the millions of university students who were forced to leave school to become "proletarians" and who today lack the skills and schooling that would give them a decent chance in the job market. Many of them are homeless vagrants, subsisting on meager relief and handouts.

In discussing the catastrophe of Burmese socialism, I mentioned the saving role of the underground economy. This topic has gotten considerable attention over the past five years in the "South." The Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, a friend and collaborator of Vargas Llosa, has written extensively on the underground economy in that country as a means of social advancement for the most marginalized sectors of society, the so-called hard-core unemployed and shantytown dwellers.

But the area where the underground economy is the one thing standing between the masses and destitution is, sadly enough, Africa. In the past two decades this continent has shown the least willingness to depart from the economic and political doctrines of socialism, and it has paid the price. In former Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Mozambique, Soviet-style regimes replete with armed Cuban mercenaries have driven the standard of living inexorably down. Ethiopia has been the most nightmarish case, with Leninist bureaucrats in Addis Ababa toasting themselves and their Soviet visitors with Scotch whisky bought with scarce hard currency while peasants and ethnic minorities, condemned for their "counter-revolutionary" nature, starve along with their elderly and children.

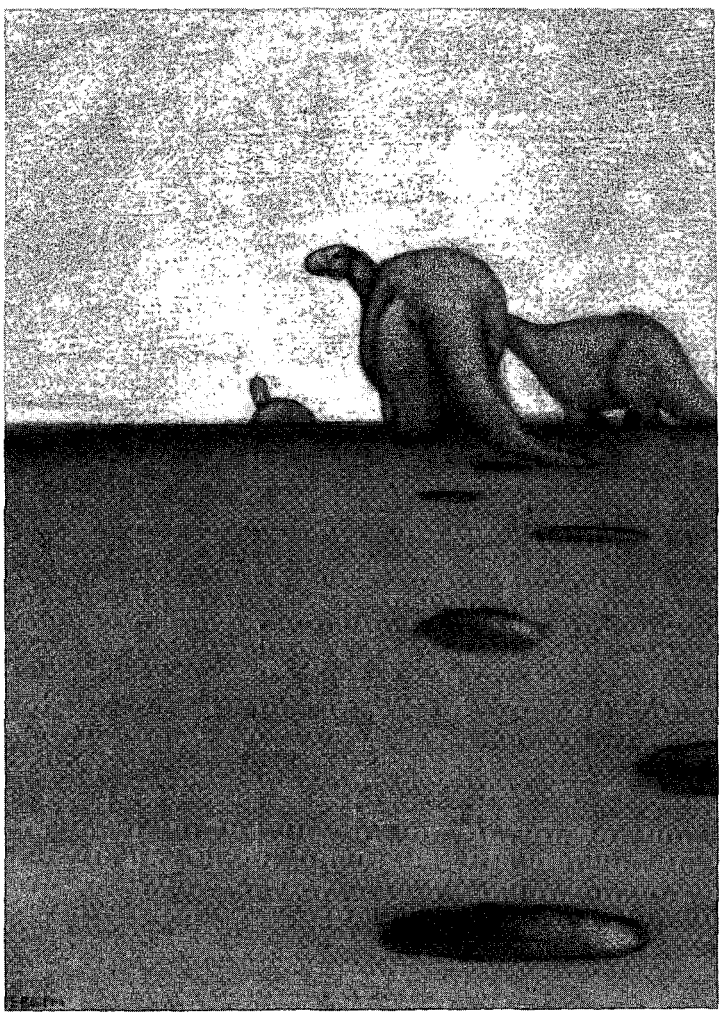
Statism has further interfered with the intelligent use of oil revenues by Nigeria. There is little hope for freedom, either institutionally or economically, in Africa. Paradoxically, the same must be said about those Middle Eastern and Islamic nations that, thanks to the benefits of international petroleum cartelization, have created virtual welfare states for their citizens. The Arabs and Iranians have yet to really discover capitalism, although in the past their civilization was known for its achievements in trade, navigation, and mathematics, the foundations of the global market society. Free choice, whether governmental, economic, or intellectual, seems to have no place in their culture today; along with their dependence on a monopoly structure in the world oil market goes their fondness for theocratic rule and a strong prejudice against business enterprise.

The world remains divided between statists and antistatists. But even in the bastions of socialism, new intellectual currents can be detected. The Poles, the Hungarians, the Soviets, the Chinese, the Spanish, the Latin Americans, and the East Asians are all learning the benefits of a society unfettered by excessive centralism, by protectionism, by governmental interference with the economy, and by coercive universalist utopias. It will be a great day when the Islamic and African nations join this movement. They will have much to offer and much to gain. Here, finally, we all truly have nothing to lose but our chains.

Stephen Schwartz is a poet, historian, and literary critic. He is the editor of The Transition *(ICS Press), a survey of the turn away from the left by intellectuals in the Hispanic world.*

TALKIN' 'BOUT MY **G-GENERATION**

by JEFF RIGGENBACH



Twenty years ago. 1968. Lyndon Johnson resided in the White House. Earl Warren presided over the U.S. Supreme Court. Dean Rusk ran the State Department. Students were demonstrating on the nation's campuses, police were rioting in the streets of Chicago. *We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against* by Nicholas von Hoffman held a spot on the bestseller list, as did Norman Mailer's *Armies of the Night* and Tom Wolfe's *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. A series of articles in *The Nation* by a San Francisco Bay area historian named Theodore Roszak was creating quite a stir in the intellectual world. It would create an even bigger stir a year later when it reappeared, greatly expanded, as a book, under the title *The Making of a Counter Culture*.

What fiction were people reading? John Updike's *Couples*, Lawrence Durrell's *Tunc*, Donald Barthelme's *Unspeakable Practices, Unnatural Acts*, James Gould Cozzens's *Morning Noon and Night*. Thornton Wilder was the winner of that year's National Book Award for fiction. On campus, where paperbacks were more in demand (and readers were much more numerous), it was mostly (though certainly not entirely) books of a few years and, in one or two cases, a few decades before that were turning heads and shaping attitudes: Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*, Robert A. Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*, Kurt Vonnegut's *Cat's Cradle*, Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange*, J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, Hermann Hesse's *Steppenwolf*, and the works of Ayn Rand, Alan Watts, and Timothy Leary (whose most sensational book yet, *The Politics of Ecstasy*, had only just been published).

The same kids were listening to Dylan, the Doors, and the Dead, as well as to the Beatles (whose "Lady Madonna" and "Hey Jude" were among the year's biggest hits) and Simon and Garfunkel. Moviegoers were flocking to see *Funny Girl* with Barbra Streisand, *The Lion in Winter* with Peter O'Toole and Katharine Hepburn, and *2001: A Space Odyssey*. All the rage on TV were "Bonanza " and a new CBS offering, an investigative news program called "60 Minutes."

More than half a million Americans were in Vietnam fighting a war that increasingly seemed both interminable and unwinnable. More than 500 of them were coming back in boxes every month. Ronald Reagan was governor of California. Jimmy Carter would soon be governor of Georgia. Garry Trudeau was still at Yale. The most popular and controversial of the political cartoonists who roamed the comics pages rather than the editorial pages back then was a man named Al Capp, whose strip related the doings of a genial hillbilly called "Li'l Abner."

The question is, have things really changed since then? Nicholas von Hoffman is still with us—a fixture on the nation's op-ed pages. Tom Wolfe is still writing bestsellers. So are Joseph Heller and Robert A. Heinlein and Kurt Vonnegut. Ronald Reagan still holds high political office. Dylan, the Doors, and the Dead are still selling records, as are the Beatles and Paul Simon. Barbra Streisand still draws at the box office. "60 Minutes" still draws on TV. "Star Trek," which was a prime time network TV series in 1968, is one of the champions of the box office in 1988.

Garry Trudeau has replaced Al Capp, of course; Mike Doonesbury has taken over from Li'l Abner. Lucas, Spielberg & Co. have transformed the film industry. But even on the surface, on the level of what names figure importantly in politics and popular culture, more has stayed the same since 1968 than has undergone any important change. And if you look beneath the surface of things, if you look into the values and beliefs that determine the

TIM TEEBKEN

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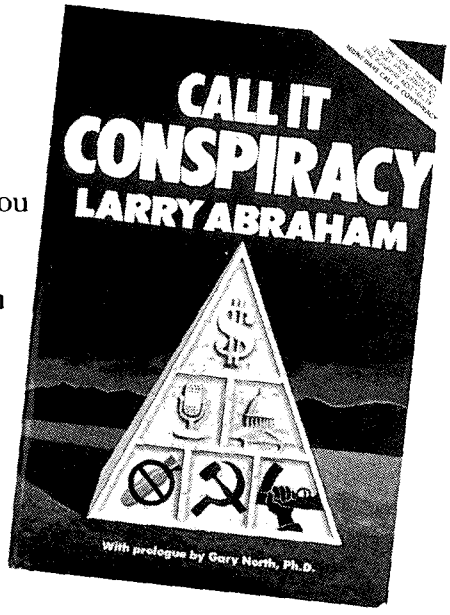

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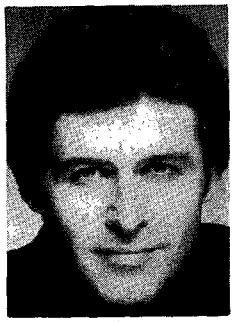

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fundamental character of both politics and popular culture, you'll find that, for all practical purposes, we're still in 1968.

The sum of such values and beliefs is sometimes called the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age. Taste in ideas, politicians, the arts, and entertainment constitutes a kind of public display of whatever that spirit is—whatever general attitude toward the human condition prevails. When large numbers of individuals express enthusiasm for a particular film or TV series or novel or musical work, you can expect to find certain of the fundamental values of that society reinforced, defended, and generally upheld by that work.

The writers who gain the widest fame and favor with the public in any given period are the writers who do the best job of reflecting back to that public its own major preoccupations.

Or, to put it another way, the writers who gain the widest fame and favor with the public in any given period are the writers who do the best job of reflecting back to that public whatever are its own major preoccupations—the ideas, the dreams, the notions of what things in life are the most and least important, most and least worthy of a person's attention and concern. The same may be said of the journalists, advertising men, and filmmakers who attain the greatest popularity in any given period. We can learn something about the underlying philosophy of an era even from those products of the era that seem to contain no ideas or "meaning" in the usual sense—from trends in architecture and interior design, for example, and from trends in musical taste.

And, as I have pointed out, the trends in politics and popular culture that we see around us today are substantially the same as the ones we saw around us in 1968. Many of the same politicians, artists, and entertainers who were hogging attention 20 years ago are still hogging attention today. And newcomers to the political and cultural spotlight are sharing that spotlight because their work is of the same general type—expresses the same general belief system, the same general sense of values—as the work of the oldtimers. The meddlesome, war-mongering, lavishly spendthrift administration of Lyndon Johnson has given way to the meddlesome, war-mongering, lavishly spendthrift administration of Ronald Reagan. (The biggest difference between the two is that where Johnson financed his spending by inflating the currency directly, Reagan has financed his by borrowing.)

To understand why this cultural and political continuity is so striking, reflect on the contrast between popular culture in 1948 and 1968. It's a dramatic contrast. The Truman administration has given way to the Johnson administration. The understated realism of Ernest Hemingway, Carson McCullers, and John O'Hara has given way to the satiric, romantic, and surrealistic fantasy of Vonnegut, Tolkien, and Barthelme. Stan Kenton and Jimmy Dorsey have given way to Dylan, the Doors, and the Dead. The conformist, team-playing young adults of the '40s have become the mystified, alienated parents of the '60s, unable either to comprehend or to tolerate the styles and folkways of their adolescent offspring.

No such "generation gap," as it used to be called, exists for the parents and kids of 1988—at least, to nothing like the same extent. There is always a gap between generations, of course; that is an inescapable part of the human condition. But the young people of today more commonly agree than disagree with their parents about music, fiction, TV, movies, and the like. The rock stars of the '60s, for example, enjoy a status with the young people of the '80s that the big bands of the '40s never enjoyed with the young people of the '60s.

Why have we had such continuity and stability in our popular culture over the past 20 years? Partly because the same people who determined the character of popular culture in the '60s are still determining it today. The members of the baby boom generation, the 75 million Americans born between 1946 and 1964, have constituted the largest single segment of the U.S. population ever since the 1950s. During that decade, when the baby boom-

ers were infants, toddlers, and gradeschoolers, the baby food and baby furniture and diaper and toy and schoolbuilding and teacher certification industries boomed—only to slump as the largest human generation in Western history passed them by on its way into adolescence.

The films of the past two decades have certainly persuaded the conservatives that Hollywood is firmly committed to the ideology of "do your own thing"—and not without reason either.

During the '60s, when the baby boomers were in high school and college, they created a new youth culture that has since become the basis for the dominant culture in our society. It was the baby boomers who made the '70s the "Me Decade" through their devotion to self-realization and self-fulfillment. It was the baby boomers who made the early '80s the era of the Yuppie. Because the baby boom was both preceded and followed by smaller generations, it is a permanent, moving bulge in the population—a bulge that makes each successive decade of American life its own; expressive, through sheer weight of numbers, of the values and beliefs of *this* generation rather than any other.

Similarly, the politics of 1988 is being made by the same people who were responsible for the politics of 1968—the parents and grandparents of the baby boomers. Politics in modern America is always dominated by the spirit of the older, property-owning generations, for these are the people who vote most actively. If a large enough proportion of the older generations participates in elections, it can assert its values over those of the younger generation, even when the younger generation is much larger in sheer numbers.

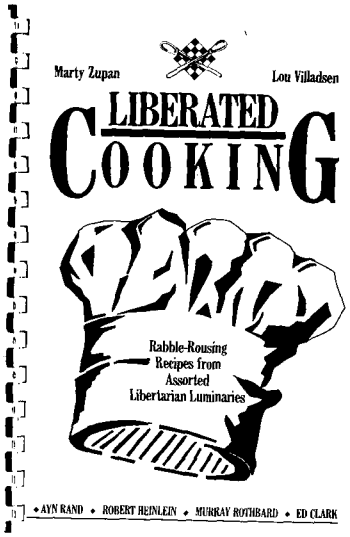
Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan are expressions of the values and beliefs of those Americans now in their 50s, 60s, and 70s. The values and beliefs of the baby boom generation are likely to come into full domination of American political life by the late 1990s, and at that time we are likely to see a rather different sort of president in the White House—different, that is, from Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan, or any of the current leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Why? Because the essential element in the culture of the baby boom generation is a tolerant, even welcoming attitude toward diversity and eclecticism, a tendency to favor individuality of style and to applaud the willingness to differ from the majority, the usual, the norm. This is the generation, after all, whose fundamental attitude toward the human condition has been summarized—and accurately—as an injunction to "do your own thing." This is a generation that considers it both natural and desirable for a gathering of people to be a gathering of many diverse styles, a generation uncomfortable with uniformity and the idea that it is in some way wrong to deviate from whatever happens to be the dominant style of one's time.

This attitude is, at root, an individualistic attitude. It is even, in a broad sense, an implicitly libertarian attitude—for the only way each individual *can* enjoy the freedom to do his own thing is if society as a whole is freed from coercion.

Tom Wolfe is still writing bestsellers. So are Joseph Heller and Robert A. Heinlein and Kurt Vonnegut. Dylan, the Doors, and the Dead are still selling records, as is Paul Simon.

It is no accident that Ayn Rand was one of the most popular authors of the past two decades, or that the past two decades have seen the rise of a number of prominent libertarian journalists, including at least two syndicated columnists and a number of opinion editors and writers. It is no accident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that the modern libertarian intellectual and political movement was born with two nearly simultaneous events—the official split between Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden in 1968 and, less than a year later, the mass resignation of the Libertarian Caucus from Young Americans for Freedom, the conservative student organization. Nor is it an accident that the movement has experienced steady and rapid growth in both size and public visibility in the years since.

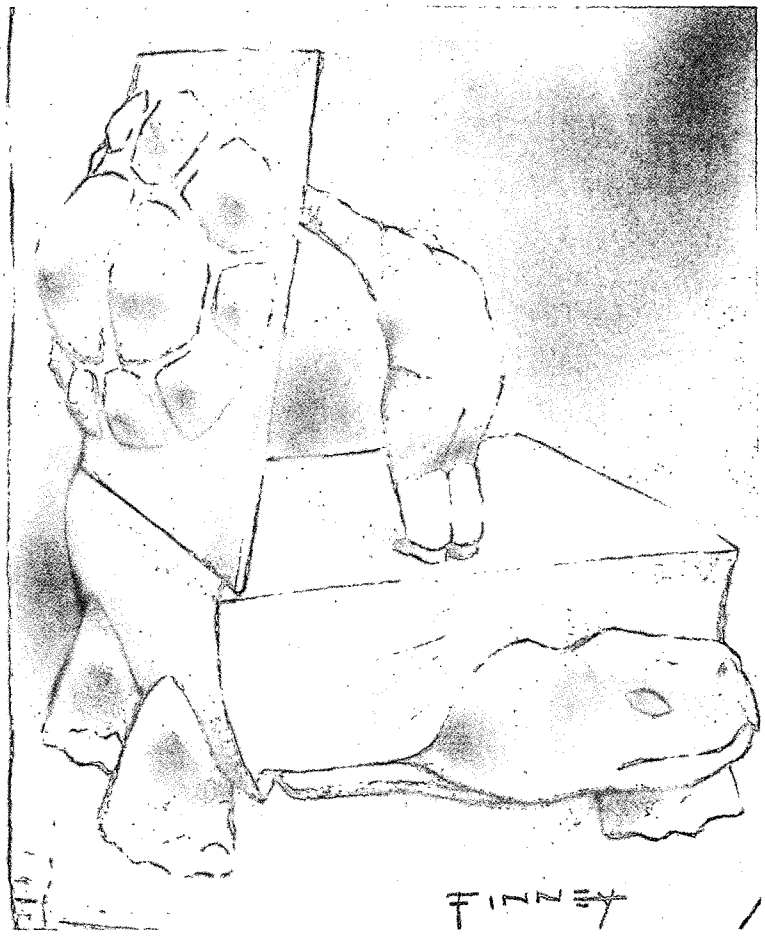
It is no accident that the authors and musicians who have won and held public favor over the past 20 years have been the most individual, the most experimental, and the most eclectic in their fields. Rock music itself, the characteristic music of our era, is a hybrid form, the product of an eclectic borrowing and mixing of elements from two types of music that were kept strictly, even fiercely, segregated within living memory—white country music and urban black music.

The films of the past two decades have certainly persuaded the conservatives that Hollywood is firmly committed to the ideology of "do your own thing"—and not without reason, either. TV, by contrast, is no more committed to individualism today than it ever was. But what has been the result of that failure by network TV to keep up with the times and the changing cultural values of its audience? Network TV has seen serious erosion of its audience, as the members of the baby boom generation have made cable TV, VCRs, and satellite technology into booming industries by seeking ways to circumvent those networks and get both a greater variety of video programming and increased individual control over what is viewed—and when. The do-your-own-thing generation has demanded, in effect—and the market has supplied—a means whereby every individual can more easily do his own thing when it comes to video entertainment and information.

We are still riding a wave of individualism that we caught 20 years ago. Don't be discouraged by the so-called "rise" of the New Right (it makes so much noise in an effort to convince you that it's bigger than it really is) and by the likes of Ronald Reagan and Ed Meese—they're the last, doddering specimens of what has been; they aren't the future, they're the past. The trends are in our direction, not in theirs. The future is ours.

Contributing Editor Jeff Riggenbach is a regular guest columnist for USA Today.

TWENTY YEARS OF BOOKS



KEVIN FINNEY

Lynn Scarlett looks back on the bestsellers, and Clarence Thomas, Martha Bayles, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Alex Kozinski, James C. Miller, and others reflect on books that made a difference.

In a famous M. C. Escher drawing, animals climb out of a book, appearing lifelike on the artist's desk, only to dissolve back into a flat image to return to the world of books. In the real world, as in Escher's art, ideas and illusions, fads and fashions, work their way into books to capture in print a moment of history, then reenter the real world as readers imbibe them.

Books provide both a feel for the past and a glimpse into debates of the future. Scanning two decades of *The New York Times Book Review*, 1968-1988, is like entering a time capsule fitted out with sandals for the '60s, Reeboks for the '70s, and Guccis for the '80s. The weightier ideas are there, but buried amidst the fads, surfacing occasionally in serious fiction and nonfiction.

An idea like liberty, for example, has waxed and waned, paralleling its fate in the big world beyond books. Take 1968, the apex of antiestablishment upheaval here and abroad. Egalitarianism claimed the minds of many politicians and far too many intellectuals. In China, the slogan "better red than expert," with its blatant egalitarian flavor, drove the Red Guard forward in China's Cultural Revolution. Disenchanted with our own "free world," some Americans bought into this egalitarian zeal. Mao's quotations—his proverbial Little Red Book—sold over 300,000 copies in the United States in 1968.

About the same time, Eldridge Cleaver stung the establishment in his biting attack on racist America. His *Soul on Ice* stayed aboard the bestseller list a whopping 55 weeks.

Soul on Ice was no aberration. The intensely angry *Autobiography of Malcolm X* hit the paperback bestseller list. And Frantz Fanon's appeal for Third World revolution, *Wretched of the Earth*, sold a hefty 155,000 copies.

But, unlike Mao's Little Red Book, these other works would mistakenly be remembered only for their antiestablishment tenor. And they are decidedly *not* egalitarian. Cleaver's book is, deep down, an appeal of an angry black man for self-help and liberty: "I decided that the only safe thing for me to do was go for myself. It became clear that it was possible for me to take the initiative; instead of simply *reacting*, I could *act*." Cleaver recites praises of Marx and Lenin—but they are largely empty chalices. What comes through with passion in *Soul on Ice* is a longing for individual freedom.

The days of rage in the '60s, whatever their superficial intellectual form, expressed at heart yearnings for freedom, yearnings whose cultural expression and scope far surpassed the pretentious whinings of a handful of red-diaper babies and New Left intellectuals. Rock music reflected this lust for liberty more than books, but the literary scene shot off a few rockets here and there. Tom Wolfe's *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, with its account of hippiedom at its pinnacle, was a carouse for freedom—not equality, power, authority, or the collective, but freedom. Likewise, the wildly popular *Whole Earth Catalog* offered a hands-on guide to self-help, new tech, and old tech in a volume far more at home in individualistic America than collectivist Russia.

Antiestablishment, yes. Collectivist, no. This was an era that devoured the antiestablishment fiction of Gore Vidal. *Washington, D.C.*, his trenchant critique of the inevitable human failures that always accompany political power, was followed by *Burr* with similar themes. Kurt Vonnegut's satire on government and war, *Slaughterhouse Five*, gained him a near-

cult following in this same epoch.

To be sure, many establishment intellectuals as well as long-time socialists like Old Left mouthpiece Michael Harrington pontificated on the benefits of more government, big government, and the welfare state. These guys found a receptive ear in the world of politicians, who after all make their living off government, the bigger the better. But these idea makers were out of touch. By the late '60s the appeal of big government was not on the rise, it was on the decline, even among starry-eyed youths who had cheered the Chairman in China.

Looking at books of the late '60s tells us something else about ideas and fashions. Grand movements are never so grand, nor so all-encompassing, nor so simple, as those caught up in them imagine. People carry on with their lives, eking out a living, nurturing their families, getting along okay without the idea makers, and—on occasion—seeking entertainment. So it is that the real bestsellers in the late '60s were spy thrillers like *The Salzburg Connection*, or books on the criminal underworld like *The Godfather*, or just plain entertaining potboilers like *Airport*. No grand social and political themes here.

And even if hippies were scorning materialism and turning to tatty jeans and rummage sales for their habiliments, others still saw the value of a dollar in hand. *The Money Game* by "Adam Smith" outpaced in sales any of the counterculture tomes or the high-falutin' egalitarian outpourings of intellectuals. *Rich and the Super Rich* was right up there, too. Parents still wondered what to do with their kids, so Dr. Spock's classic chalked up nearly a million sales and Haim Ginott's *Between Parent and Child* stayed on bestseller lists for over a year.

What really survived into the '70s from the turmoil of the '60s was not an egalitarian political ideology (though it found its way into our laws), but the more gut-level quest for individualism that had sustained America's cultural revolution. What could be more personal, more centered on self, than sex. Sex, happiness, and self-fulfillment. O'Neill and O'Neill penned their popular *Open Marriage*; Thomas Harris, in what is a popularized expression of individualism, wrote *I'm Okay, You're Okay*; and Alex Comfort, soon after, came on the scene with the phenomenally successful *Joy of Sex*.

Though a few themes like feminism and environmentalism carried forward the political crusade of the '60s, the American public was generally more interested in other matters: to wit, themselves. With near-fanatic ardor we began to diet. *Dr. Atkin's Diet Revolution* took the book scene by storm and, just about ever since, we have gorged on diet tracts.

Then we began donning our Reeboks, or pouring ourselves into leotards and leg warmers. None other than Jane Fonda, pariah of the establishment a decade earlier, led the way.

The media, quick to label, dubbed the '70s the Me Generation. Robert Ringer's *Looking Out for Number One* and *Winning Through Intimidation* gave apparent confirmation to the designation. So, too, did books like Harry Browne's *How You Can Profit from the Coming Devaluation*. Here was a guy who would have us actually cash in on crisis, instead of remaking the world.

But, as the saying goes, you can't judge a book by its cover. The media, then as now, latched onto a superficial phenomenon and mistook it for the *Weltanschauung* of America. Underneath all this dieting and jogging, the '70s manifested a deep angst, a searching for values.

The politics of the '60s had sown some seeds of egalitarianism, but '60s popular culture had been intensely libertarian. The push and pull between equality and liberty gave '70s politics a more tentative flavor. Broad visions of revolution gave way to narrower agendas—saving whales or turning chairmen into chairpersons. We got neither revolution nor sweeping egalitarianism, but in particular pockets of policy the ideal of equality of results crept in to stay. Nowhere was this more evident than in politics about women and minorities.

The early '70s brought us Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* and Germaine Greer's *Female Eunuch*, both quests for equality. On the political battlefield, the egalitarian urge translated into affirmative action.

Yet liberty held sway, too, more in the actions of women than in the realm of lawmaking. What women seemed to want was freedom of choice. By the late '70s we find *Woman's Dress for Success Book* and *The Managerial Woman* tapping these aspirations. Other women chose traditional roles, though often rather belatedly. And then in stepped Erma Bombeck, "worrying about getting into the Guiness Book of World Records under 'Pregnancy: Oldest Recorded Birth,' " poking fun at motherhood and kitchen sinks, yet somehow condoning that lifestyle as well, all to the dismay of radical feminists.

The '70s, a decade when feminism turned mainstream, also packaged environmentalism for mass consumption. What took off in the '60s as a cultural phenomenon in which nature, Indian feathers, and organic gardening featured prominently, turned into an intellectual and political movement. The Environmentalist was born.

The environmental movement, more than any other political drive of the '70s, sought the authority of the state to change the balance between man, industry, and nature. To stalwart capitalists, it was *the* nemesis of the '70s. Yet even the environmental movement has a grassroots side that gropes for enhancing, not limiting, our choices. For example, E. F. Schumacher's *Small Is Beautiful*, partly a product of environmentalism, is a caustic attack on big government and planners; it is above all an appeal for self-help, even if its economics is wrongheaded.

Underneath the skin of the Me Generation flourished an uneasiness, expressed in doomsday books like Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* or Charles Reich's *Greening of America* and prophecies of economic collapse. Reich's book, in particular, was a collectivist quest for community. He fell prey to the view that individualism meant a lack of values, that only in self-sacrifice for the community can moral value be found. Though the forebodings of Toffler and Reich found an audience, not all were convinced as they groped for a worldview not satisfactorily answered by the collectivism of the communitarians nor the state capitalism so vivified by the dethroned Richard Nixon.

Exactly one decade after Students for a Democratic Society issued its petition for a new political order, former Treasury Secretary William Simon came forward with a different appeal for change. In *A Time for Truth*, he reclaimed Thommas Paine's vision that "government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one." Simon concluded his essay: "One of the clearest measures of the disastrous change that has taken place in this country is the fact that today one must intellectually justify a passion for individual liberty and for limited government, as

though it were some bizarre new idea."

Among the rulers, the idea was bizarre. Yet the very success of his book showed how alive the ideal of liberty was among many of the ruled. It was out there lurking among those who had watched big government grow but had quietly run their businesses, gone to work, read *The Salzburg Connection* and *Joy of Sex* in their spare time, and wondered if America was going to hell in a handbasket.

Robert Ringer's *Restoring the American Dream* tapped a desire to rekindle liberty. But the definitive intellectual reaffirmation that individual liberty is a good thing came from Milton and Rose Friedman. Their 1980 book *Free to Choose*, accompanied by the TV series, remained nearly a year on bestseller lists. Finally, it was okay to say that liberty includes, nay *requires*, free markets. The cultural libertarianism that had kept individualism alive in the '60s and '70s finally regained a foothold in our economic thinking.

Dieting, cycling, and aerobics persisted into the '80s. In there bouncing on the aerobics floor was a small but visible coterie of ambitious young people who dined well, dressed expensively, and had traded in the old VW bug for a new BMW. This crowd gave the media fuel for its new label for the decade, yuppies. But, like the Me Generation, yuppiedom was really *only* a media phenomenon. Underneath that yuppie veneer could be found a reinvigorated work ethic and spirit of enterprise. And thus, in the '80s, a wealth of new books on business, management, entrepreneurship, and investment, capped off with Tom Peters and Robert Waterman's big hit, *In Search of Excellence.*

Things lightened up a bit, too, in indirect proportion to the inflation rate. Instead of doomsday prophesies we began to find on the bestseller lists things like *No Bad Dogs: The Woodhouse Way* or *A Few Minutes with Andy Rooney*. Refreshing, light, simple. The prophecies also turned rosier, as in John Naisbitt's *Megatrends*. We even got a dose of long-absent patriotism in *The Eagle Has Landed*, Ken Follett's tale of a group of veterans, payrolled by business tycoon Ross Perot, freeing American hostages from Iran.

We still got plenty of spy thrillers, though some disgruntled antinukers sourly opined that these books bucked the new spirit of conciliation with the Soviet Union and should not be published, or at least not purchased. *Hunt for the Red October*, by Tom Clancy, was a blockbuster, showing that Americans of the '80s relish a gripping thriller with a good dose of technology. Some things never change.

And what about individual liberty? It is back on the political agenda, though mostly in rhetoric. Big government is bigger than ever. Don't look to the politicians for liberty. Look to our poets and artists, our musicians and writers, our entrepreneurial mavericks, our mothers and fathers, and to the corner grocer.

The halls of academia still harbor more than their fair share of collectivist scribblers. But collectivist idea makers are on the defensive. A new breed of thinkers has begun to carry the torch for individual liberty, though we mustn't forget the lonely crusaders—F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, Henry Hazlitt, Thomas Szasz, Thomas Sowell, and a handful of others (some of whom we pay tribute to in the following comments) who persevered for liberty when so many intellectuals had given over to collectivist sentiments.

But let's also not forget that *whatever* the intellectuals are saying, ideas like liberty almost always find a home on less exalted planes—a poet's rhyme, a bluesman's drone, or a mother's lullaby. Ideas have consequences, but they don't reside merely, or even mostly, in scholarly books. And so, the most heartening sign may be that the all-time biggest bestseller of the past two decades was a wacky bunch of children's poems by Shel Silverstein. *A Light in the Attic* stayed on the *New York Times Book Review* bestseller list fully 146 weeks. And his poems aren't *about* individual freedom—they *exude* it.

And now a brief celebration of books, fiction and nonfiction, that have kept liberty alive over the past two decades.

—*Lynn Scarlett*

1974

The Gulag Archipelago, by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

John Hospers

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

Solzhenitsyn may not be in all respects a defender of human freedom, yet his *Gulag Archipelago* is as powerful a testament to freedom as has been written in our century, being a sustained and compelling exposé of freedom's antithesis.

The reading of these three volumes (2,000 pages) is a shattering experience that filters into everything one reads and thinks thereafter. The cumulative impact of the countless details of human suffering and cruelty through slave labor, imposed by the Omnipotent State during the Stalin years, has an impact for which even the reading of Solzhenitsyn's works of fiction has left one unprepared.

Millions died in the Ukrainian genocide of the 1930s and millions more in the frozen wastes of Kolyma in the '40s and '50s, and—unlike the Nazis whose atrocities were headlined all over the world—the world took almost no notice of these decades of death. After Solzhenitsyn, there is no longer any excuse for remaining ignorant. Yet today hardly one of a hundred American undergraduates has read one word of Solzhenitsyn's work. If they escape the kind of fate he described, it will not be because they have become aware of the dangers of Omnipotent Government, or discerned any warning signals. For them it will be simply a matter of luck.

John Hospers, who reviewed movies for REASON from July 1977 through May 1984, teaches philosophy at the University of Southern California.

1984

Losing Ground, by Charles Murray

J. A. Parker

CHARLES MURRAY

In 1979, 55 percent of all black children in the United States were born out of wedlock and into female-headed homes, compared with an estimated 15 percent in 1940. Many commentators have ignored the changes in our welfare system in recent years that have provided an incentive not to marry, to have children out of wedlock, and not to work. In *Losing Ground*, Charles Murray shows that the great proliferation of social programs and policies of the mid-'60s made it profitable for the poor to behave in the short term in ways that were destructive in the long term.

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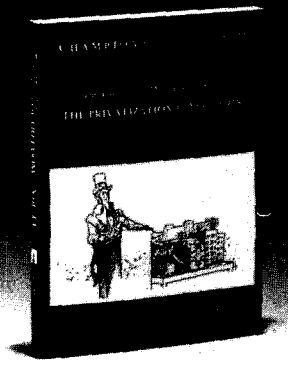

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Murray comprehensively documents and analyzes the disturbing course of Great Society social programs. Challenging popular notions that Great Society programs marked the beginning of improvement in the situation of the poor, Murray shows substantial declines in poverty prior to 1964—but slower growth, no growth, and retreat from progress as public assistance programs skyrocketed.

If we truly want to improve the lot of the poor, Murray declares, we should look to equality of opportunity and to education and eliminate the transfer programs that benefit neither recipient nor donor. It is Charles Murray's hope that we will learn from the failures of the past and move in an entirely different direction in the future.

J. A. Parker is president of the Lincoln Institute in Washington, D.C.

1980

Ethnic America, by Thomas Sowell

Clarence Thomas

THOMAS SOWELL

"There's another black guy out there who is as crazy as you are!" My friend's gibe was how I first learned of Tom Sowell's *Race and Economics*, which confirmed some of the "crazy" ideas I had about freedom and race and added dozens more. I eagerly read the book and sought him out, and now, over 10 years later, I cannot imagine what my life would be without his writing and his counsel.

In *Ethnic America* Sowell reflects on America as "the story of the human spirit in its many guises." His combination of scholarship and common sense shows how differing ethnic traits endure and disappear, as individuals come to enjoy the benefits of living in a free society. Supported by conscientious law enforcement, the crucial means for self-improvement in America is the wise use of our inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Clarence Thomas, interviewed in REASON's November 1987 issue, is chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

1980

Free To Choose, by Milton and Rose Friedman

Michael McCarthy

MILTON FRIEDMAN

ROSE FRIEDMAN

In November 1980, I voted for Jimmy Carter for president and then went home and read *Free to Choose*. I started the book a Democrat and a standard-issue modern liberal. I finished it a libertarian.

Free to Choose is really a book for burnt-out liberals—burnt out by the failure of our generation's efforts to solve the intractable social problems of our times; for liberals who still care about the liberal agenda but are fed up with the liberal solution.

In Friedman's book I found hope for the future, grounded in something I still held dear: a decent respect for people as people. Discouraged by failure, I was electrified by this book's ideas for success. It gave me my first glimpse of libertarianism as a politics of hope, and that changed my life.

Thanks, Miltie.

Michael McCarthy is reviews editor of the computer weekly InfoWorld *and chairman of the Reason Foundation's San Francisco Regional Advisory Council.*

1974

Anarchy, State, and Utopia, by Robert Nozick

Tibor R. Machan

ROBERT NOZICK

Robert Nozick's famous *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* is now a classic of 20th-century political philosophy. It is a model of philosophical pizzazz. Nozick's book is a dazzler—a philosophical virtuoso, an intellectual feast. It reestablished the academic significance of the laissez-faire alternative in political economy. The ripple effects are still being felt. Graduate students and young professors of philosophy, political science, and economics are everywhere studying Nozick's ideas and are also steered to the examination of the ideas of other libertarians.

I only regret that Nozick has refused to discuss his work further. He has replied to just one critic—Sheldon Wollin—in a letter to the editor to *The New York Times Book Review*. Better comments and criticisms—for example, by Thomas Nagel, Amartya Sen, Thomas Scanlon, Robert Wolff, and H. L. A. Hart—have gone unanswered by Nozick. Mostly critical, negative essays appear, and since they are aimed at Nozick, responses, especially from frameworks Nozick rejects, can be dismissed out of hand.

Senior Editor Tibor R. Machan, one of the partners who published REASON *from 1971 to 1978, teaches philosophy at Auburn University.*

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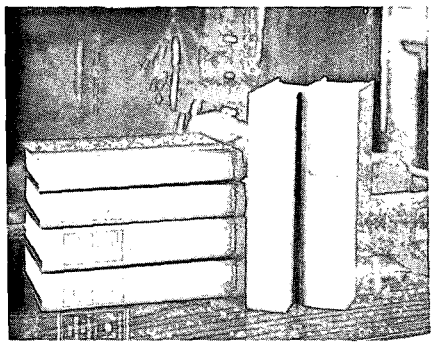

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BOOKS**BOOKS**BOOKS

1981

Wealth and Poverty, by George Gilder

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

GEORGE GILDER

Wealth and Poverty served as a trove of useful information about the ecology of dollars over the past two decades. It reminded us of much that is true and vital about the economy vis-à-vis the state and vis-à-vis the individual. It did all this with the most elegant prose.

George Gilder is one of the finest minds of his generation, and so in this superb book he included something more important than all the above. He devised a way of thinking about capitalism that, if true, could make it defensible on yet another front. Beyond being effective at increasing wealth, it is, according to Gilder, virtuous. "Not taking and consuming, but giving, risking, and creating," says Gilder in *Wealth and Poverty*, "are the characteristic roles of the capitalist, the key producer of the wealth of nations."

For generations, that aspect of libertarianism that statists have opposed most resolutely has been its adherence to the free market. Statists think capitalism is selfish and morally flavorless. Gilder thinks it is altruistic. If he can succeed in making that case, the major barrier between libertarianism and American conventional thought might well collapse. This alone make his work invaluable.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., is editor-in-chief of The American Spectator.

1968

Whole Earth Catalog

Jim Trotter

Any catalog that could contain information on edible fungi and how to build a log cabin *and* could draw fine distinctions between Murray Rothbard and Ayn Rand has to be great. I read the first *Whole Earth Catalog* while living in a one-room cabin in the mountains. Already an anarchist, I was drawn to a reference about a school of thought that included "bushy-haired anarchists," "Ayn Rand freaks," and maybe the best economics around. From the accompanying list of libertarian

publications I opted for *The A Is A Directory*, which turned out to be a key libertarian sourcebook that helped me complete my economic education. Here I found economic analysis to fit with my anarchist philosophy.

The current issue of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, with its greater formality, has become genteel and mainstream. But it still offers a cornucopia of information that underscores the many ways individualists express themselves.

Jim Trotter is a businessman. In 1968 he was a rioting student.

1970

Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers, by Tom Wolfe

Thomas W. Hazlett

TOM WOLFE

The 1960s were beautiful, man, because it was the time when the intelligent, compassionate, oh-so-right upscale crowd found poverty, racism, injustice—and especially their *victims*. It was a match made in Heaven, which is to say, on Manhattan's Upper East Side. The '60s were righteous, you see, 'cause the good, loving, liberal New York elite got down with the *bad*—the revolutionary, no time for jive, in yo' face mo' fo', don't give me no sheeeeiiiiiit, brothers and sisters from "the people." It was ugly. But the existence of God was conclusively proven when he placed one little scrivener, Tom Wolfe, in the middle of that gala Black Panther fundraiser in the la-di-da duplex of Leonard and Felicia Bernstein *circa* January 1969.

It was the magic moment when both sides achieved climax. Never have two social classes so shamelessly fondled each other for (independent) mutual advantage; never has a writer been so savage, so word-picture perfect, so brilliantly illuminating in recording the double foul. Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Mayor Daley, General Hershey, George Wallace, and Curtis Lemay all tried and failed; it was the Truth's Eyewitness, Tom Wolfe, who brought the '60s to an end.

Contributing Editor Thomas W. Hazlett teaches economics at the University of California, Davis.

"The most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other, and I trust I never shall."

—Thomas Paine

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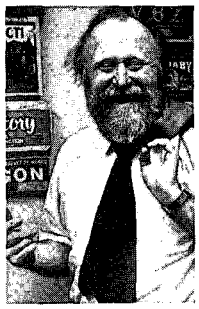
1975

Dune, by Frank Herbert

Michael Grossberg

Dune, voted "the greatest novel ever" in a 1975 science fiction reader's poll, put science fiction on the map. Frank Herbert's richly detailed world of power politics, millennial movements, and eco-crises—a world much like our own—was science fiction's first *New York Times* bestseller-list blockbuster.



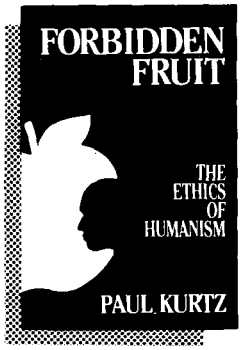
FRANK HERBERT

Long before the Star Wars trilogy with its desert planet Tattoine modeled on *Dune*'s Arrakis, Herbert's dense future-historical epic captured the imagination of a generation. Through its conspiracy-filled plot about a battle for control of a mind-expanding, life-extending drug, *Dune* tells a cautionary tale about the perils of power lust, the excesses of religious fanaticism, and the pitfalls of submission to messianic cults.

In some ways *Dune*'s continuing pop-culture popularity is surprising—and promising. For Herbert's antiauthoritarian, antiegalitarian vision, with its wise emphasis on "the terrifying instability of all things human," makes all too rare distinctions between natural hierarchy and corrupt bureaucracy, between legitimate authority and coercive tyranny, and between freely chosen responsibility and collectivist duty. Viva la difference!

Michael Grossberg, founder of the Libertarian Futurist Society, reviews theater and film for the Columbus Dispatch *newspaper.*

New Libertarian Titles



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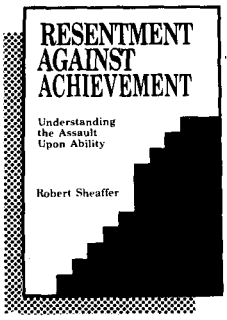

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1985

Takings, by Richard Epstein

Alex Kozinski

RICHARD EPSTEIN

When does government regulation amount to a taking of private property for which "just compensation" is due? The answer to this question turns out to be extremely complicated under our case law, with the consequence that few whose property is devalued by governmental regulation are able to recover under the Constitution's takings clause. Richard Epstein presents a fundamental challenge to the current mode of analysis, much of which he views as naive or misguided. Using sophisticated economic and philosophical models, Epstein argues that much government regulation, such as zoning and rent control, does amount to a taking of private property for which compensation is due. It may be quite some time before Epstein's view becomes the law of the land, but his vigorous, articulate, and frequently compelling analysis cannot be ignored. Takings law will never be the same.

Alex Kozinski is a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. He was featured in a REASON *Spotlight in the August/September 1986 issue.*

1971

The Psychology of Self-Esteem, by Nathaniel Branden

Mariam Brillantes

NATHANIEL BRANDEN

On the threshold of my 27th year, I finally learned how to become visible to myself. Through Nathaniel Branden's book *The Psychology of Self-Esteem*, I realized that all my life, I had surrendered my identity to others, letting their standards dictate how I judged myself. They were rational, objective, confident; I was emotional, insecure, hungry for approval. Since I wasn't like them, I felt worthless, undeserving of love.

Branden taught me to break free. His philosophy that self-esteem must come from within, rather than from approval by others, enabled me to wipe the slate clean and begin to develop my own values and standards, trust my mind, celebrate my emotional intensity, and accept that I am different and good and worthy of happiness.

It took a long time to earn my self-respect, but the journey was worth it. I discovered that underneath the twisted ball of pain that I had become lay an indomitable self—a healthy, vibrant ego with an incredible capacity for living. Ayn Rand's heroine, Dagny Taggart, was alive in me, after all.

Mariam Brillantes is a free-lance writer in New York City.

1976

Roots, by Alex Haley

Martha Bayles

ALEX HALEY

In his recent movie *Raw*, Eddie Murphy says he is fed up with aggressive American women and plans to get himself a compliant African wife whose idea of fun is to ride a zebra while wearing nothing but a bone in her nose. Partly, Murphy is parodying the stereotypes of Africa. But he is also mocking the new-fangled ignorance that accepts only reverently idealized images of Africa.

In other words, he is talking to the post-*Roots* generation. For when Alex Haley's 1976 bestseller (followed by a blockbuster miniseries) traced Haley's family tree back to an idyllic village in Gambia, mainstream America's notion of the black past was forever altered.

Roots will never be canonized as literature—especially since Haley was accused of plagiarizing the Gambia passages—and there is no denying that it set the tone for much loud, false glorification of Africa. But to the degree that it also inspired much quiet, genuine curiosity about black origins previously shrouded in indifference or shame, *Roots* did contribute to individual liberty. At least, we can all laugh together at Murphy's double-edged joke.

Martha Bayles is the Wall Street Journal's *TV critic and is writing a book about popular culture.*

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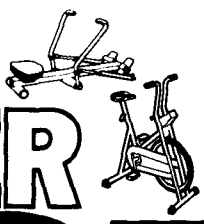

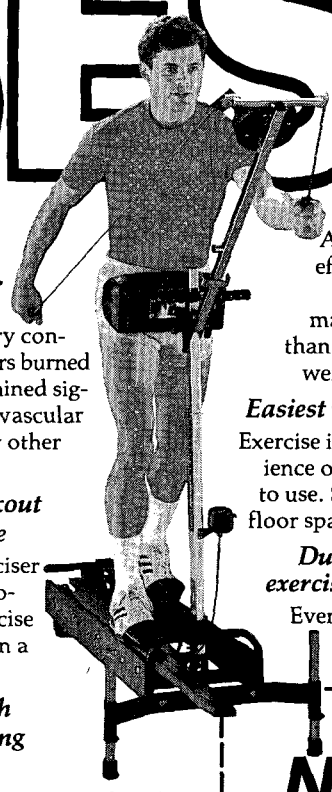

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1975

Thinking About Crime, by James Q. Wilson
Steven R. Postrel

JAMES Q. WILSON

In the late 1960s, "serious" discussions about crime began and ended with "root causes"—racism, poverty, inequality. To the liberal policy elite, crime was proof of deeply rooted injustice and oppression, proof of the need for huge government programs to transform urban life. Punishment of criminals was futile, hardening hearts and breeding future offenses.

By the early 1970s, these certitudes were in disarray, as the rehabilitation nostrums and community-action programs proved expensive follies. They were completely routed with the publication of *Thinking About Crime*. Wilson's combination of cool scholarly analysis, down-to-earth common sense, and awareness of the limits of social policy simply annihilated the conventional wisdom. He showed that "root cause" theories are largely irrelevant for policy because government is incapable of affecting these root causes. And he informed the public that empirical research supports the ordinary view that criminals respond to incentives and that punishment serves a constructive purpose. Wilson's bottom line: "We have trifled with the wicked, made sport of the innocent, and encouraged the calculators. Justice suffers, and so do we all."

Steven R. Postrel teaches business strategy at the University of California, Los Angeles.

1981

Teach Your Own, by John Holt
1980
Mindstorms, by Seymour Papert
1980
Philosophy in the Classroom, by Matthew Lippman, Ann Sharp, and Frederick Oscanyan
Karl Hess

These three books concerning education could profoundly effect (and increase) individual liberty. Holt's book is a definitive argument for home schooling that, in turn, is a definitive form of individualism.

Papert's book, with its ringing credo of taking education away from the collective and returning it to the individual and the free market, is a "mindstorming" paean to the possibilities of the personal computer as a tool for the private, individual intellectual development of children. (Papert, at MIT, is developer of the computer language Logo, widely used by children and an increasing number of adults.)

Philosophy in the Classroom describes the material and practices developed at Montclair State University's Institute for the Advancement of Philosophy for Children, developments that, in my view, systematically encourage the questioning of authority and the development of self-esteem in ways so powerful that even a public school environment cannot crush them. Sample: one question children are encouraged to ask is why they are *forced* to be in school in the first place. The entire Pandora's box of force is thus opened, a concern so fundamental that adults widely prefer to avoid it. If their children face it head on, the future of liberty *could* be brighter than ever!

Karl Hess, a frequent contributor to REASON, *is the author of* Capitalism for Kids

1975–1979

Law, Legislation, and Liberty, 3 vols., by F. A. Hayek
Douglas Den Uyl

F.A. HAYEK

I had the good fortune of reviewing all three volumes of Hayek's *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* for REASON beginning in 1975, while I was still in graduate school, and ending in 1979, during the origins of a settled career path. Although each review contained critical comments, my own intellectual development benefited from these books in ways that can only be appreciated by looking back as I am doing now. In particular, the Hayek trilogy, more than anything else at the time, moved me off a strictly moralistic posture toward social and political questions and instilled a far greater sense of the manifold issues that sound social theory must address.

Some have argued that Hayek's *Constitution of Liberty* was his best work or that *The Road to Serfdom* has done and will do more for the cause of liberty than any other. Perhaps. But I believe that *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* has a significance all its own. This trilogy moved Hayek from the rank of economist to social philosopher. I may be prejudiced in believing that every theorist wants eventually to be thought of as some type of philosopher; but I know of no higher compliment, and I believe these volumes were decisive in placing Hayek's name among the list of significant social philosophers.

Douglas Den Uyl, a coeditor of The Philosophic Thought of Ayn Rand, *teaches philosophy at Bellarmine College.*

1971

Without Marx or Jesus, by Jean-François Revel
Stephen Schwartz

If I were asked to name the living writer who in the past 20 years has most influenced my political thinking, I would have to say the French essayist Jean-François Revel. In 1971, having thoroughly enjoyed his previous works, I was astonished and provoked by the appearance of *Without Marx or Jesus*.

Revel had been known as a perceptive critic of the left, from a leftist point of view. With the appearance of his book hailing the new American revolution, he was ostracized by most left-wing intellectuals. I myself, then wandering in the trackless waste of extreme leftism, was at first more irritated than stimulated by his book. His message was simple: the real transforming revolution of our epoch is a product not of Marxism nor of the Eastern and other religious philosophies so fashionable two decades ago, but of America—the powerhouse of free-market capitalism.

While utopian and other redemptionist political philosophy has produced madness and mass death, the American miracle continues to astonish the world with its tremendous capacity for social and technological innovation. Revel is therefore the recipient of the best of all honors: he is a prophet proven correct time and again.

Stephen Schwartz is a poet, historian, and critic.

1984

The Apocalyptics, by Edith Efron

Marty Zupan

EDITH EFRON

To a generation raised on the common wisdom that we are suffering "an epidemic of cancer" stemming from our growing use of manmade toxic chemicals, Edith Efron's *Apocalyptics: Cancer and the Big Lie* offers a well-documented, myth-shattering look at the study of environmental cancer.

It is too early to tell whether *The Apocalyptics* will make a difference in the world of ideas, the world of science, and the world of regulation. It *should* make a difference. And it must make a difference in each of those realms if it is ever to make a difference in the lives of people outside the handful, relatively speaking, who operate in those worlds. But whether it will depends on the choices of an even smaller handful of people.

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* seeped into the culture for 22 years before Edith Efron's *Apocalyptics* came around to possibly turn the tide. When REASON celebrates its 40th anniversary, we'll see.

Editor-in-Chief Marty Zupan stopped smoking, never did use muffin mix, and doesn't worry about Red Dye No. 2.

And one for good measure...

1962

The Calculus of Consent, by James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock

James C. Miller III

We include this book as an exception. Although published before the 20 years 1968-1988, it would have a major effect during those years.

The Calculus of Consent—the wellspring of the Virginia School of Economics—is a showcase of creative analysis. One of five seminal works in the discipline known as collective, or public, choice, this is a book that has launched 1,000-plus articles. Professors Buchanan and Tullock breathed life into the fading notion of "political economy" at a time when most of academia fancied the demarcation of economics and political science.

Two concepts in *The Calculus of Consent* are central to its impact. The first is methodological individualism. Individuals are fundamental units of analysis, and choices are driven by consistent behavioral motivations—in politics as in the market. The second is the emphasis on politics as process. Like the market process, political decisions are shaped by rules and institutions. *Calculus* focused analysis on the structure of the political process and how it determines the gains and costs of individual actions. Particular outcomes, public policies, are treated methodologically as responses to the structure of the institutional rules.

Applications of the framework developed in *The Calculus of Consent* are unbounded, and the "public choice perspective" is embedded in the thinking of academics and policymakers alike.

James C. Miller III is a former student of Buchanan and Tullock's and is now director of the Office of Management and Budget.

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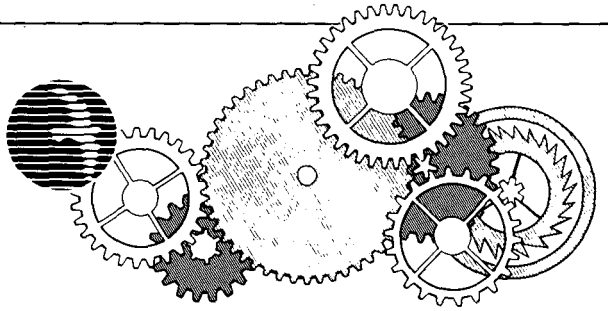
Ideas That Drive The Debate



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VIEWPOINT

YOU SAY YOU WANT A **REVOLUTION**

by P. J. O'ROURKE

I like to think of my behavior in the '60s as a "learning experience." Then again, I like to think of anything stupid I've done as a "learning experience." It makes me feel less stupid. However, I actually did learn one thing in the 1960s (besides how to make a hash pipe out of an empty toilet paper roll and some aluminum foil). I learned the awful power of make-believe.

There is a deep-seated and frighteningly strong human need to make believe things are different than they are—that salamanders live forever, we all secretly have three legs, and there's an enormous conspiracy somewhere that controls our every thought and deed. People are greedy. Life is never so full it shouldn't be fuller. What more can Shirley MacLaine, for instance, want from existence? She's already been rewarded far beyond her abilities or worth. But nothing will do until she's been King Tut and Marie of Romania. It was this kind of hoggish appetite for epistemological romance that sent my spoiled and petulant generation on a journey to Oz, a journey from which some of us are only now straggling back, in intellectual tatters.

Many people think fantastic ideas are limited to the likes of Harmonic Convergences, quartz crystals that ward off cancer, or, at worst, harebrained theories about who killed JFK. Unfortunately this is not the case. Two of the most fecund areas for cheap fiction are politics and economics. Which brings me to Marxism.

Marxism is a perfect example of the chimeras that fueled the '60s, and probably the most potent one. Albeit, much of this Marxism would have been unrecognizable to Marx. It was Marxism watered down, Marxism spiked with LSD, and Marxism adulterated with mystical food coloring. But it was Marxism nonetheless, because the wildest hippie and the sternest member of the Politburo shared the same daydream: that a thing might somehow be worth other than what people will give for it. This just is not true. And any system that bases itself on such a will-o'-the-wisp is bound to fail. Communes don't work. Poland doesn't either.

Now the hippies are gone and—if *glasnost* is any indication—the Communists are going. But there is a part of the world where politico-economic fish stories are still greeted with gape-jawed credulity. It's a part of the world that pretty much includes everybody except us, the Japanese, some Europeans, and a few of the most cynical Russians. You can call it the Third World, the Underdeveloped World, or just The Part of the World That's Completely Screwed.

Working as a foreign correspondent, I've spent a lot of time in the part of the world that's completely screwed. It's always seemed a comfortable and familiar-feeling place to me. The reason is, Third World countries are undergoing national adolescences very similar to the personal adolescence I underwent in the '60s. Woodstock Nation isn't dead; it's just become short, brown, distant, and filled with chaos and starvation.

Marxism has tremendous appeal in the Third World for exactly the same reason it had tremendous appeal to me in college. It gives you something to believe in when what surrounds you seems unbelievable. It gives you someone to blame besides yourself. It's theoretically tidy. And, best of all, it's fully imaginary, so it can never be disproved.

The Third World attitude toward the United States is also easy to understand if you think of it in terms of adolescence. The citizens of the Third World are in a teenage muddle about us—full of envy, imitation, anger, and blind puppy love. I have been held at gun-point by a Shi'ite youth in West Beirut who told me in one breath that America was "pig satan devil" and that he planned to go to dental school in Dearborn as soon as he got his green card. In Ulundi, in Zululand, I talked to a young man who, as usual, blamed apartheid on the United States. However, he had just visited America with a church group and also told me, "Everything is wonderful there. The race relations are so good. And everybody is rich." Where had he gone, I asked. "The south side of Chicago."

We are a beautiful 20-year-old woman and they are a wildly infatuated 13-year-old boy. They think of us every moment of the day, and we take no notice of them whatsoever. If they can't have a chance to love us, a chance to pester us will do—by joining the Soviet Bloc, for example. Anything for attention.

So what are we supposed to do about all this? How do we keep the disaffected youth of the West out of mental Disney World? How do we keep the poor denizens of Africa, Asia, and Latin America from embracing a myth that will make their lives even worse than they are already?

Maybe we should start by remembering that we already live in a highly idealistic, totally revolutionary society. And that our revolution is based on reality, not bullshit. Furthermore, it works. Look around us. It works like a son of a bitch. We have to remember it was this revolution, not the Bolsheviks', that set the world on fire. Maybe we should start acting like we believe in it again. That means turning our face against not only the Qadhafis, Khomeinis, and Gorbachevs, but also against the Dengs, Pinochets, and Bothas.

The president and his advisors will not have to sit up late working on a speech to explain this policy shift. There's a perfectly suitable text already in print:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And that is a much spacier idea than anything that occurred to me during the 1960s.

P. J. O'Rourke is the author of Republican Party Reptile. *This article is adapted from a speech at the National Forum Foundation's Second Thoughts Conference.*

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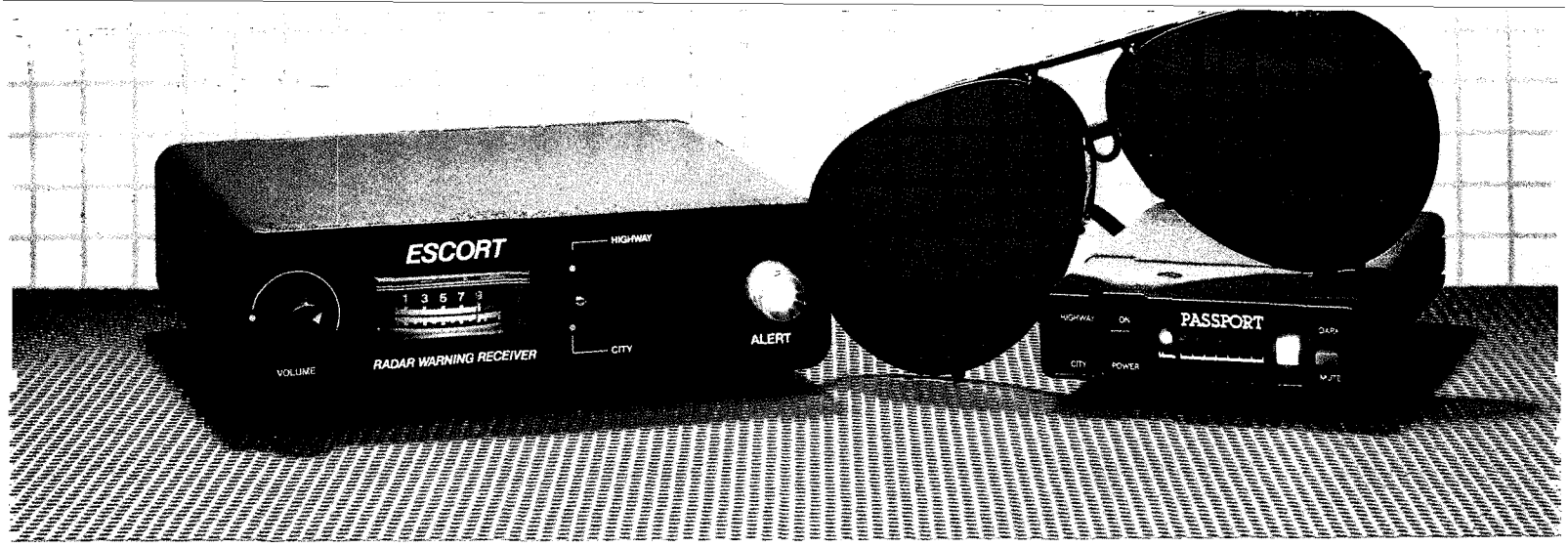

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